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EDITORIAL

G.O.P. CLICKS IN STICKS

Our show-biz reporter writes: A new Republican game-show pilot hit the home screen on January 5. Called "Who Can You Trust?" the new offering used the venerable minstrel-show format, with interlocutors tossing straight lines to six G.O.P. personalities on the panel, who performed in white face. Interest in the show was heightened by the recent cancellation of the rival Democratic sitcom "Three's a Crowd," after star Jimmy Carter sent word he was being held hostage in the White House by Iran.

The panelists scored with relaxed deliveries, and the absence of the only Hollywood star name, Ronald Reagan, shouldn't hurt ratings (Reagan's agent nixed his boy's appearance on grounds he didn't need the exposure, works best as a single and had lost his ad-lib file).

Clever questions included what would panelists do about the hostages in Iran? End-man Phil Crane quipped that when the hostages were free he would answer the question. Nashville idol Howie Baker drawled that the way to handle the situation was to prevent it from happening.

A unique feature of the pilot was the "isolationist booth." Panelists were tossed a hot potato—the grain embargo—and told to run with it to a voting booth filled with Iowa farmers. Five candidates fell over themselves in a Keystone Kops scramble to condemn the boycott, which won them points with the home folks. Baker may have lost the animal lovers' vote by saying grain embargoes "always starve the wrong people," forgetting that it's the Russian cows and chickens that will be getting it in the neck. John Anderson was disqualified for his offbeat answer, "It seems passing strange that those who are critical of our foreign policy as . . . weak, when the first real test comes . . . are unwilling to accept any measure of sacrifice." The pilot was a winner that should play in Keokuk.

OPEC AND THE THIRD WORLD
Penny Lernoux

THE LETTUCE STRIKE STORY
Richard Steven Street

HUAC'S BIG BROTHER
Kenneth O'Reilly

METAPHOR AND MESSAGE
Neil Postman

THE GRAIN CARTEL
Robert Engler

'ALL THAT JAZZ'
Nora Sayre

FIRST STRIKE

THE PENTAGON IS GAINING

ROBERT C. ALDRIDGE

The past year has seen the Pentagon's first-strike weaponry grow steadily ahead toward maturity. The American public has only a vague inkling of what this portends. In my previous articles* I have outlined the variety of technologies which, when they become operational, will give the United States an overwhelming, unanswerable nuclear advantage over the Soviet Union. If development of these weapons systems continues unchecked, their potential for destabilizing the strategic equilibrium between the United States and the Soviet Union will be a reality in the mid-1980s.

With the so-called death of détente, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, President Carter's request that the SALT II treaty be shelved, increased defense spending, the stationing of a new generation of nuclear missiles on European soil and the appointment of a Marine general to command a "Rapid Deployment Force" prepared to intervene with 100,000 troops anywhere in the world, the acquisition of a first-strike capability by the United States becomes all the more frightening. The technological imperatives and momentum of strategic nuclear weaponry increase the risks to us all in ways that tend to be underestimated.

Given this revival of a confrontational foreign policy and a cold-war national consensus, what does a first-strike advantage mean? A preemptive first strike would most likely happen during a period of international crisis when emotions and national pride are soaring high. It could commence with the destruction of the opponent's early-warning, communications and navigation satellites. That would seriously impede the enemy from getting the fire command

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LETTERS.

INVITED DIALOGUE

Detroit

On October 6, 1979, *The Nation* examined the proposed Federal Bureau of Investigation charter, publishing the views of ten distinguished authorities ["Symposium: Chartering the F.B.I."] and inviting a "critical dialogue." As an attorney who has been involved in lawsuits and legislation intended to restrict the illegal intelligence activities of local "Red squads" in Michigan, I have come to know intimately the litany of abuses perpetrated by these agencies as well as those of the F.B.I., Central Intelligence Agency and Military Intelligence, and have experienced the frustrating and nearly impossible task of trying to stop America's secret police.

As a result of those experiences I have, unlike some of your authorities, scrapped many of the notions about American "democracy" that are taught in civics and political science courses.

First, I believe it is important to place the charter in its proper context. While recent revelations of F.B.I. misconduct have come as a shock to most people, they are not an aberration. During and following World War I, for example, the F.B.I. was instrumental in subjecting American dissidents to massive roundups and detentions (the Palmer Raids), wholesale deportations, infiltration and disruption of labor and social change groups, and attacks by right-wing vigilantes. The revelations of the last few years, then, mark no real departure from our history, and the absence of J. Edgar Hoover should not be seen as a cause for optimism. Instead, we should recognize that, as with any "banana republic," the function of the secret police is to subvert any social-change movement that threatens the status quo. The mushrooming incidents of spying on antinuclear groups attest to the fact that while the targets change, the police do not.

John Shattuck, Jerry J. Berman and Morton H. Halperin say that "time is running out . . . the mood of the country becomes more conservative." "We need an F.B.I. charter." Nonsense. As pointed out, I believe correctly, in the editorial "Radical Decade" [Michael Parenti, *The Nation*, Dec. 8, 1979]: "There is much evidence suggesting that (*1*) conservatism and apathy do not correctly describe the public's mood; (*2*) progressive opinion grew stronger, not weaker, during the 1970s, and (*3*) we are entering a period of resurgent activism."

Implicit in the "conservative trend" analysis is that this is a "last chance" and we had better take what we can get. Thomas I. Emerson, on the other hand, concludes that "there are some bills that would be worse than nothing." This bill is in that category. As Mae Churchill points out, the F.B.I. wants the charter *not* to rectify past illegal activities but to legitimize them: "If there is no law supporting the activities, make such a law."

The greatest danger of this charter, however, is the vast extension of F.B.I. power to investigate "terrorist activity." Historically the secret police have always legitimized their actions by wrapping them in fear. As Ramsey Clark points out, this has taken the form of "Communist conspiracies" and "demons from the dark ghetto," and "now come terrorists." The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration has spent some $5.4 million in the study of this new fear, and it is a rare day that passes without some reference in the corporate media to the terrorist threat. Furthermore, even if civil liberties groups succeed in enacting a laundry list of "Thou shalt nots," an exemption for terrorist investigations will easily serve to legitimize the activities of a new COINTELPRO.

Clark's suggestion of a Federal police review commission is interesting, but if the experience of local police commissions is any indication, it will not solve the problem. At least they have not in Detroit, where they refused to deal with the Red-squad issue at all.

The most significant advance in controlling the intelligence police has been the increased public awareness of their role. We desperately need to face the reality of an American secret police. Reformist measures are fine if they serve as a basis for discussion and public education. But we should not delude ourselves about the effectiveness of these measures, and above all, not acquiesce in legitimization in the name of progress. *George L. Corsetti*

EVEN WORSE

Washington

John Shattuck's case against nuclear power on civil liberties grounds ["Nuclear Power and the Constitution," *The Nation*, Nov. 3, 1979] can be amplified. In January 1975, the Virginia Electric and Power Company asked the Virginia State Legislature for authority which would have given the company's private police the power to arrest citizens anywhere in the state and gain access to confidential citizen records. The State Legislatures in Oregon and Washington were faced with similar requests from nuclear-fueled utilities more recently.

Fortunately, all such attempts failed. But with as vulnerable and dangerous a technology as nuclear power and its fuel cycle, the tradeoff between assertions of greater security over this fuel cycle and the people's civil liberties may become more compelling by the regulatory-utility complex that finds a garrison-state climate congenial with the security needs of an unnecessary, unsafe and unreliable electric atom. *Ralph Nader*

VERBAL ASSAULT

Normal, Ill.

Eliot Weinberger's ad hominem attack on Robert Bly ["Gloves on a Mouse," *The Nation*, Nov. 17, 1979] made me think twice before deciding to renew my subscription to *The Nation*.

I wasn't surprised that an inconsequential poet and translator like Weinberger should seize the opportunity to assault verbally his artistic superior. Nor was I surprised at the envy that so evidently motivated that assault. But I was surprised that *The Nation* foisted such trash on its readers. For shame. A 115-year-old magazine should know better.

Charles B. Harris

READY FOR '81

Washington

In my article "How Much of the Way With E.M.K.?" [*The Nation*, Dec. 22, 1979], I attributed to Douglas Fraser, the president of the United Auto Workers, the view that the newly formed coalition, the Progressive Alliance, should take "all of 1981" to construct a program for a new American politics. In fact, he has taken the view that we should take "all of 1980," so as to be prepared to make specific demands of a friendly President in January of 1981—or to develop a coherent opposition to an incumbent of a different kind. Fraser's position makes sense: a year is long enough to begin the serious reconsideration we need.

Norman Birnbaum

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EDITORIALS.

Fire and Ice

Tass, the Soviet "news" agency, calls President Carter "wicked." He resurrects "atheistic" to chastise the U.S.S.R. for attempting to dominate Islamic Afghanistan. Carter, the Shah, the Ayatollah and Brezhnev alternate as crackling effigies in streets filled with mobs screaming "Death to. . . ." Tension replaces détente and the thaw refreezes.

Does all this mean that the world is spiraling toward the last—in the sense of ultimate—war? Is mankind really doomed, this time, and is there nothing to be done to stop the fatal plunge?

It would be foolish, we think, not to take note of the nuclear backdrop as the earth's four billion inhabitants nervously watch the major and minor actors clashing on the tumultuous stage. But it would be equally shortsighted to fail to remark the signs of political restraint that exist. It may look like a mad world but it is also a MAD world, in which Mutual Assured Destruction is still a check on the resort to hostilities by the major powers—albeit a notoriously precarious one, a rational calculus predicated on the unthinkable.

The Soviet Union, for instance, maintains that it will leave Afghanistan once its version of order is restored. Hard as that may be to credit, given the flimsiness of its rationale for intervention, the promise hangs out there for all to see. As for the United States, the actions the President has so far taken in response to the U.S.S.R.'s aggressive incursion (remember that phrase?) can be called measured—that is, not out of all proportion to the provocation. And there was an interestingly mild term in his January 4 speech which he applied to our principal opponents. He called them "potential adversaries." A generation ago Walter Lippmann persuaded John F. Kennedy to change "enemy" to plain "adversary" in his quite bellicose Inaugural Address in 1961. The President has also iced rather than burned the SALT II treaty; it is there to be revived. This country would be better off strategically if it had been ratified and were in force now.

On the other fronts, both strategic and tactical, the situation is messy to say the least. In the areas of superpower confrontation, we are stepping up the pressures or counterpressures. The preliminarily laid Chinese angle of the triangular foundation of détente will clearly be reinforced, probably with military technology this time, and the MX and other "modernized" weapons systems will proceed apace, which means faster. The military budget in this elec-

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tion year will surely be enhanced, as they say in the Pentagon, beyond what the prophets are now forecasting. We seem to be shopping for new bases in the Middle East, looking for them inevitably in places almost as vulnerable to revolution as Iran. That kind of "security" is shaky but we'll buy it, if only for the virile look of it.

One more "strategic" note, comedy division: the Olympic Games. By withdrawing from them, our Saudi Arabian allies, those medieval monarchs and moralists, have set us an example we might well follow to retain respect and self-respect. Why not seriously consider cancelling our own participation, thus simultaneously striking a blow for freedom (of the Afghans and the Russian dissidents who will be locked up in, or exiled from, Moscow during this event) and a blow against the vulgar nationalism and commercialization that dominate this thoroughly political and corrupt spectacle? If NBC and its insurers go bankrupt from the loss of revenues, they can apply for a Chrysler-style U.S. Treasury bail-out. And it should not be beyond us to put on a genuinely sporting contest somewhere.

As for Iran and the tactical situation at the site of the first provocation in the current series, it can be said that the fifty Americans in the embassy are not the only hostages. There are two others. The principal one is the strange apparatus that passes for a Government in Iran. It is quite clear that once the Iranian "state" failed to gain control of that takeover, within an hour or two of the hijacking by the militant terrorists called students, it became the hostage of the invaders. Revolutionary symbolism was in control at that point and the symbols were in irresponsible hands.

Now, even the Ayatollah would have a hard time asserting authority, and the transient likes of Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh have no chance of it at all. Thus far Washington has had the good sense to treat it as a hijacking, with dozens of lives at stake, rather than an affair of state between nations (although one wonders what the United States hopes to accomplish with economic sanctions against a Government that is not really in charge). Those who, like the ineffable John Connally, talk of it in chauvinist terms should be read out of the political process—they are shouting "Fire!" in a crowded theater. They are hostages too, in a sense—of their own ambitions and "patriotism," but they deserve no rescue.

In the footnotes to this brief chapter of modern history one must record the flabby performance of the United Nations Secretary General in his timid foray to Iran; he went there heralding failure of his mission and behaved in a way that guaranteed it, never daring to suggest that he represented the norms of civilized international conduct. On the other hand, the often maligned Third World majority of the United Nations generally demonstrated its adherence to those standards, on the hostage question among others. Waldheim should have borrowed the courage of his constituents.

The coincidence, whether accidental or otherwise, of Soviet expansionism, the decline of the American economy, Islamic nationalism and tensions over oil, the Arab-Israeli impasse and the Teheran hostages suggests a sequence of geopolitical developments with the direst potential. In the days ahead, the American response to this amalgam of conflict will greatly depend on the steadiness of our President. We would like to believe that Carter remains convinced that calmness is the best policy and panicky overreaction the worst politics. For this characteristic of the man we can presumably be grateful, even as we wish that he had made himself somewhat more believable during the twists and turns, hesitations and vacillations of the past three years. Carter's rise in popularity in the polls comes from the people's desire to believe in the correctness of their choice of him as President. In critical days this restoration of the people's faith in themselves is something for him to live up to as he deals with a dangerous world.

Seoul Brothers

A clear picture of what is happening in South Korea —especially who is in charge of the Government —has yet to emerge from Seoul. More than two months after Park Chung Hee's assassination, only one thing seems certain: a power struggle among the generals and between them and the civilian leadership of the ruling political party is now in full swing. What this augurs for restoration of democratic rule after eighteen years of Park's repression is uncertain.

But a look back at 1961, when Park came to power, inspires little hope for the future. Then as now the military spoke against corruption, unfair promotional opportunities for older officers and "flunkyism." They stressed the need for national discipline in face of "the threat from the North." What emerged was a military intent on self-aggrandizement and knee-deep in graft, and a so-called civilian Government similarly lusting for power and utilizing a dreaded K.C.I.A. whose evil means knew no limits, including the assassination of those who helped create it.

There are few signs that lessons have been learned and that any real progress is being made toward a Government genuinely based on the free mandate of the Korean people. Choi Kyu Ha, a diplomat-sycophant who glossed Park's image internationally, is now President, having been elected under the discredited Yushin Constitution notwithstanding his almost complete lack of public acceptance. Kim Chong Pil, a cool political maneuverer, architect of the 1961 coup, longtime defender of authoritarian rule and a man twice expelled from Korea for involvement in scandal and corruption, has now been elected head of the Government party. To this uninspiring pair is added a sinister Maj. Gen. Chan Do Hwan, whose qualifications and ambitions are shrouded in mystery. What little we know of his role is ominous indeed: he heads the defense security command, which since the assassination has outdone the K.C.I.A. in its brutality toward dissidents. In defiance of the military command, he surreptitiously took Korean troops off the D.M.Z. (where they defend Seoul from the North) in order to wrest power from the martial-law commander, Gen. Chung Seung Hwa.

To be sure, there have been a few encouraging developments. Emergency Measure No. 9, the draconian measure

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used to stifle dissent, has been revoked, and prisoners detained under it have been released. And Kim Dae Jung, the senior opposition leader whom Park kidnapped in 1973, has been released from house arrest, albeit without restoration of his civil rights (which would enable him to participate in politics). Yet in the context of continuing martial law and attempts to muzzle those in opposition, and an apparently deliberate effort by the military and Choi to postpone as long as possible needed constitutional revision and free elections, these are but token improvements calculated to provide image and not substance.

Throughout the crisis in Seoul the conduct of the Carter Administration has been disappointing. It long misjudged the increasing opposition to Park, thought it could count on the Korean military to remain neutral, and hesitated far too long before making clear its requirement for political reform in a country it is pledged to defend. For thirty years Washington has reacted to events in South Korea too frequently in terms of what "signals" a U.S. response would communicate to the North. Regrettably, the Carter Administration has continued this one-dimensional policy. Its knee-jerk reaction to Park's assassination was to re-emphasize its obligations under the 1954 Mutual Defense Treaty, as though Pyongyang, and not Seoul's dictatorial rule, were the greatest threat confronting stability in the South.

Admittedly, U.S. energies are being consumed in the confrontation with Iran, but surely previous experience with Seoul provides ample justification for a more forthright policy. If allowed to drift, internal developments in Korea will inevitably deteriorate into violence, for there exist all the elements of an explosive confrontation: a demoralized K.C.I.A., a military fragmented internally by self-interest, an army leadership implicated in Park's assassination, a Government intent on as little reform as it can get away with and a disenchanted citizenry restive for democracy after bitter years of repression.

South Koreans are astute political observers—no doubt because they occupy what has been described as the worst real estate in Asia. They have been trained by history to judge the intentions of friend and foe alike by subtle signs. When Park engineered his coup in May 1961, he quickly recognized a green light when Washington refused to back up the U.S. Embassy's opposition to his coup. (See Ranard, "End of the Act?," *The Nation*, November 10, 1979.) In November 1972, Park read the State Department's muted response to his iniquitous Yushin Constitution as another implicit endorsement. The danger now is that Seoul will interpret the low-key U.S. posture as meaning little political change is required. Once again the generals are counting on being able to trumpet the "North Korean threat" to abort essential reforms.

For the first time in almost two decades the United States again has the opportunity for constructive change in Korea. It should put aside the quiet diplomacy of the Nixon and Ford Administrations—and of Carter's also—and make publicly clear its expectations for basic political reforms. First in order of priority would be the requirement that the military stand completely aside and allow a new and open political process to begin. To date it has not. As soon as martial law was declared, the military arrested and tortured dissidents, and it has openly attempted to control political choices by a scurrilous denunciation of Kim Dae Jung as "soft on Communism." (No one of sane mind in South Korea believes this canard, as evidenced by the huge support his candidacy won at the polls in 1971.) A new and democratic constitution should be drafted at once, and a date for its adoption by popular referendum announced. Although much has been made of the political and legal dilemma now facing Korea—i.e., how to go from Yushin to something better—the problem is exaggerated. Korea has experience in democracy. Either the 1948 Constitution or even Park's 1963 model (before he embarked on all-out one-man rule) could serve as reasonable working precedents.

Meanwhile, acting President Choi Kyu Ha should make clear that he is exactly that—a caretaker obliged to swiftly turn government over to the people's legitimate choice. An early schedule for free and fair elections should be announced under whatever democratic system suits the Korean electorate. Both constitutional revision and national elections could easily be accommodated by mid-1980. Last but not least, there should be an abrupt halt to martial law and the end of political arrests and trials.

For the past eighteen years, the United States has deluded itself into thinking that national security in Korea and the status of human rights are not linked. But to the contrary, the absence of human-rights guarantees is the main threat to stability in Korea, not the designs of the regime to the North, hostile though they may be. It is long past time for Washington to recognize this simple fact. DONALD L. RANARD

Donald L. Ranard is director of the Center for International Policy in Washington, D.C. He has followed Korean affairs since assignment to the American Embassy in Seoul in 1959 as political counselor.

Lane's Friends

Lane Kirkland's recent election to the presidency of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. represents something altogether unique in the history of labor leadership. For the first time, the leader of most of American trade unionism is a man who over the years has had links to and worked closely with Big Business.

The list of Kirkland's business affiliations includes longtime service on the board of the Rockefeller Foundation, along with such members of the financial establishment as C. Douglas Dillon, Robert Roosa and, until they resigned to join the Carter Administration, Michael Blumenthal and Paul Volcker. He is as well a veteran place-holder on the Trilateral Commission, which was started by David Rockefeller and which also has Volcker, Blumenthal and Roosa as members. Kirkland sits along with Rockefeller, Arco's Robert Anderson and Xerox's C. Peter McCulloch as one of the handful of directors of the high aerie of the free-trade-oriented American foreign policy establishment—the Coun-

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cil on Foreign Relations. He does time as a director of the Brookings Institution as well, the board of which heavily overlaps with both the Trilateral Commission and the council. And he serves as a trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, along with such corporate luminaries as Richard Debs of Morgan Stanley International.

A decade ago Kirkland was tapped by a group of top business and foundation executives, including John D. Rockefeller 3d and Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, as the labor representative on the committee they were forming to head off mounting Congressional challenges to the tax privileges and policy-shaping research and reports of American foundations. Known as the Commission on Foundations and Private Philanthropy, the group, although supposedly impartial, clearly shared a bias in favor of deductible philanthropy. John D. Rockefeller 3d personally selected as chairman Peter Peterson, then chairman of Bell & Howell, who held or had held directorships or trusteeships of the Committee on Economic Development, the heavily foundation-supported Brookings Institution, Illinois Bell, and the First National Bank of Chicago. Other members included J. Paul Austin of Coca-Cola and Sheldon Cohen, a former Internal Revenue Service commissioner and then special tax counsel to the Democratic National Committee. The social scientist Daniel Bell, a champion grantsman, also served. As soon as the commission finished lobbying the Senate Finance Committee directly, and delivered a final report in early 1970 calling for tax breaks for rich donors, two members of the commission joined foundations. Commission member Patricia Harris, now Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, joined the Twentieth Century Fund in 1969.

President Nixon appointed Kirkland to his Commission on Financial Structure. When the commission's membership was announced, Congressman Wright Patman estimated that eleven of its fifteen members had strong ties to the financial community.[1]

Less unusual for George Meany's successor are Kirkland's support for the war in Vietnam and his charter membership in the sharply militarist Committee on the Present Danger. He is also a member of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's notably bellicose General Advisory Committee, where he has worked with Secretary of Defense Harold Brown (who was then president of Cal Tech, a member of the Trilateral Commission and a director of I.B.M., the Times-Mirror Corporation and the British parent of New York's J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation) and William Scranton (longtime Rockefeller family adviser, former Governor of Pennsylvania, a Trilateralist and a director of I.B.M., *The New York Times* and many other corporations) to insure that there would be neither real arms control nor effective disarmament.

Kirkland's standing in the defense community was underscored when President Nixon appointed him to the Blue Ribbon Defense Committee chaired by Metropolitan Life chairman Gilbert Fitzhugh.[2] Kirkland also served on Gerald Ford's Committee on C.I.A. Activities Within the United States. The committee chairman was Nelson Rockefeller, on whose National Commission on Critical Choices for Americans Kirkland also served.[3] At the time, Kirkland was asked by reporters about widespread allegations that the Central Intelligence Agency had funded A.F.L.-C.I.O. affiliates in Latin America. Kirkland denied any knowledge of such funding, and said that he would have opposed such use of the federation if he had known.

One ought to presume Kirkland was telling the truth, although it may have been a classic case of not asking and not telling. For nearly twenty years Kirkland has enjoyed privileged status within the federation as Meany's chief executive assistant and confidant. As he noted in a recent interview, "Everything that we have done and every program that we have undertaken, I think, has mine among the fingerprints on it." A special focus of his work has been foreign policy. He has long been a trustee of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (A.I.F.L.D.) and a director of the African-American Labor Center, two A.F.L.-C.I.O. affiliated organizations that promoted business unionism and anti-Communist *putsches* in Latin America and Africa during the 1960s and 1970s.

Incorporated in 1961, with Meany as president, shipping magnate J. Peter Grace of W.R. Grace & Company as board chairman, longtime Rockefeller family friend and Latin American adviser Berent Friele as vice chairman, and a host of multinational firm representatives on its board, the A.I.F.L.D. was conceived as the labor arm of Kennedy's Alliance for Progress. Advertised at first as a tripartite (labor-business-government) venture to defend "common interests" in Latin America, the organization quickly became the major outlet for labor-related Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) funding, and ambiguously involved with C.I.A. funds. While spokesmen for labor deny charges of direct C.I.A. funding, left undenied is documented evidence of C.I.A. cash flowing to Latin American unions and union officials, also underwritten by the

(Continued on Page 40)

1. The chairman of the commission was Reed Hunt, the former Crown-Zellerbach chief executive. Although Morgan Guaranty's Ellmore Patterson and Prudential's Donald MacNaughton were members, the commission overrepresented home building and local banking interests. Kirkland favored requiring financial institutions to hold part of their assets in housing credits to promote investment in that sector, but went along with the rest of the commission in avoiding discussion of the financial consequences of inflation, the Vietnam War and priorities for social investment.

2. The committee included, among others, Hobart Lewis, president of the Reader's Digest Association; William Blackie of Caterpillar Tractor; Reuben Metler of TRW; University of Chicago economist George Stigler, and George Campion, president of the Economic Development Council of New York. Several controversial recommendations were made to subordinate the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Pentagon civilian leadership. Kirkland did not join two committee members, Rear Adm. Wilfrid J. McNeil, retired, a director of Fairchild Hiller, and Robert Jackson, chairman of Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical, in opposing this move.

3. Other members of the panel included C. Douglas Dillon, Allied Chemical chairman; Chase director John Connor; Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, retired; Ronald Reagan; Ervin Griswold (counsel in the Government's attempt to suppress the Pentagon Papers), and Edgar F. Shannon, a nationally prominent educator with past ties to the military, who that year joined the Rockefeller family's Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. The former counsel to the Warren Commission, David Belin, served as the "inquiry's" executive director.

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SECOND THOUGHTS

CAREY McWILLIAMS

Once the bedrock of American journalism, the weeklies are being devoured by the chains; almost every day small, old-time weekly newspapers, many family owned, sell out to national groups. But in their place new forms are emerging. One is the giveaway tabloid weekly of which the Chicago *Reader*, founded in 1971, is the best example. The *Reader* runs free classified ads (except in a few categories) and can be picked up in stores, restaurants and building lobbies. Currently it has a circulation of nearly 100,000, runs to eighty or ninety pages, and last year took in $1.9 million worth of paid display advertising. It is edited for the 18-to-34-year-olds, those who are fairly well-to-do, career-oriented, self-centered and tend to be big spenders. The *Reader* tells them where to shop, where to eat, what entertainment is available. It has some good columns and each issue usually has one long piece, which may be about almost anything. Political reporting is scanty, however. One gathers that the feature articles are run mainly to distinguish the *Reader* from a mere shopping guide. At present there is a *Reader* in Los Angeles and one in San Diego and now one or two local papers in Southern California have begun to use the same formula. Of these, the most interesting is *Easy Reader*, published in Hermosa Beach and edited by a talented young journalist named Kevin Cody.

Cody finished college in 1970. "I majored in economics," he says, "and minored, unofficially, in pacifist studies." The minor proved useful, for it enabled him to convince his draft board that he was indeed a confirmed pacifist. To him war is "the stupidest idea I ever heard of"; he is morally opposed to "participation in war in any form." A waiter in a restaurant where he happened to be employed as a busboy actually founded *Easy Reader*, and managed to keep it alive for six months, before Cody bought it with a borrowed $300 —which it took him three years to repay. The paper, he thought, should "accurately reflect the community" but not attempt to tell its readers what was right or who to vote for. The only reason *Easy Reader* survived during its first eight years was simply that it refused to die: the finances were awful. In those years Cody was convinced that the more the editorial content improved, the more readers the paper would have, and the more money it would rake in from ads. But it didn't work that way.

Easy Reader did everything to increase circulation, but it would not permit advertisers to tell it what to report or how news should be reported. The paper gave prizes; it was sold for less than it cost to distribute. Selling new subscriptions was equally unprofitable: the promotional cost of acquiring a $6 subscription averaged out to $20 each. As a result, *Easy Reader* was unable to push its circulation to the 30,000 readers needed to attract advertisers and, at its peak, the paper had only 15,000 paid subcribers. But then Cody met Robert Roth, who had started the Chicago *Reader*. Roth was considering launching a *Reader* in Los Angeles but had his doubts that people would respond to the editorial formula there the way they had in Chicago. He did, however, add a San Diego *Reader* to his mini-chain. Cody visited the operation and was converted. *Easy Reader* became a handout with free circulation and free classified ads. Since the changeover, circulation has risen to 35,000. From the San Diego *Reader*'s experience, Cody had learned that people pick up papers not so much to read them as to look at the ads and entertainment listings. The paper expanded from Hermosa Beach to Manhattan Beach and then Redondo; more recently it moved into the Palos Verdes community, a lucrative market where, within two months, it gained 7,000 new readers. The editorial cost for the expansion was virtually zero. Cody had learned from readership surveys that his readers preferred classified ads, calendar listings and news, in that order.

The corollary of that finding is that free-circulation papers need not concern themselves with attracting readers by editorial excellence. But by the same token, with a guaranteed readership, they can be as editorially independent as they like. *Easy Reader*, in addition to good local news coverage, regularly publishes major features, often on highly controversial subjects. When advertisers complain (and they do), Cody has a stock rejoinder: what do you care what we print as long as you get your money out of the advertising? "The power to help other people make money may be more important to the newspaper of the future than the power to affect public opinion," he told me. For most publications, circulation costs—getting new subscribers and delivering papers—are soaring; the "easy reader" formula is one response to this squeeze.

The newsletter is another print form that is thriving in Southern California much more than elsewhere. Newsletters began to burgeon in California in the 1970s. *Political Animal*, an excellent newsletter edited by Joseph Scott, costs $54 a year but enjoys a substantial readership. New marketing newsletters in many fields keep appearing, with subscription prices ranging as high as $400 a year. Financial newsletters proliferate, as do "self-awareness" and "self-development" newsletters. *Strange Times* is a newsletter for people "who are tired of news." Since 1977, California State University has offered a course in newsletters. The reasons most often cited for the spread of newsletters are: low publishing costs, brevity, relevance to their readers' concerns, and readability. Today's daily newspaper has developed a heft and size that intimidate readers who have little time to read. Newsletters also cater to the special interests of small groups. It is not expensive to publish a newsletter, and there is no need to worry about advertisers. But promotion is costly since potential readers are scattered and limited in number. *Easy Reader*s and newsletters cannot replace the weekly newspapers that are being gobbled up by the chains; nevertheless, they are a growing phenomenon that is worth watching. □

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(Continued From Page 38)

A.I.F.L.D., and early 1960s funding of the international operations of several U.S. unions.[4]

Less important than the financial source for A.F.L.-C.I.O.-related operations abroad has been the actual impact of programs for training "free union leaders" to sabotage more militant workers' movements, linking State Department and C.I.A. operatives to "independent anti-Communists" and repeatedly intervening in trade union struggles in the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Chile, Argentina and elsewhere to undermine not only Communist but also socialist and broadly populist trade unions. To take one example: the A.I.F.L.D. trained and funded several members of the archreactionary Vandorist faction within the Argentine workers federation (C.G.T.), which was granted control of the C.G.T. in late 1966 in return for its endorsement of that year's successful military coup against President Arturo Umberto Illia. The effect on a putatively free and independent workers' movement was immediately evident. Strike days plummeted from more than one million in 1966 to fewer than 3,000 in 1967. Unemployment increased sharply. Average wages drastically declined.

It is never easy to predict what a number-two man will do on assuming the number-one chair. Kirkland assumes power at a time when A.F.L.-C.I.O. policy at home matches to a degree its policy abroad: resolute anti-Communism, a preference for stability in labor-management relations and strong bureaucratic organization and discipline within the trade union movement itself. These were the bases of the new "national accord" he recently negotiated with the Carter Administration, which mandated labor's participation in a Pay Advisory Committee on wage-price guidelines. The committee is chaired by veteran labor negotiator, former Secretary of Labor and General Telephone & Electronics director John Dunlop, and here, as elsewhere, Kirkland is well connected. He and Dunlop are bound both by the bonds of friendship developed over three decades of workaday contact in the trade union movement and their joint investment in the Punta Cana Dominican Republic resort plantation project. (Masterminded some years ago by Theodore Kheel, a longtime labor negotiator and a director of *New York* magazine, Western Union, Athlon Industries and U.V. Industries Inc., the venture was later shadowed by the indictment of one of its trade unionist investors for misappropriation of union funds.)

With his astonishing corporate connections, his lifelong history as a conservative business unionist and his recent record as negotiator of the "national accord," Lane Kirkland represents a kind of Big Business-labor integration unparalleled in American history. Now that he is number one he has an opportunity to put this extraordinary background to work on behalf of an increasingly fragmented and weakened labor movement. Rarely in the history of this country's labor movement has the time been riper for leadership and statesmanship of the highest order. Alternatively, Kirkland's cold-war background and corporate connections could signify the continuation of Big Labor's slide. If Kirklandism turns out to be nothing more than Meanyism-with-politesse, then the willingness of American labor to accept such leadership will figure crucially in setting its range of political alternatives in the 1980s and beyond. It is an issue that affects not only organized labor but the whole of the working population.

4. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the American Newspaper Guild, and the International Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. In 1967, revelations of direct C.I.A. funding of foreign labor organizations led Lyndon Johnson to prohibit further such activities, and A.I.D. assumed virtually full responsibility for the substantial A.I.F.L.D. budget.

ARTICLES.

WHAT HAPPENED IN CARACAS

OPEC and The Third World

PENNY LERNOUX

Caracas, Venezuela

One of the most puzzling riddles for U.S. critics of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries is why the oil-barren developing nations don't speak up. Here are the "NOPECs" on the edge of bankruptcy, facing an impossible oil import bill, and hardly a murmur to be heard from the Third World!

While the U.S. and European press worked itself into a froth of indignation over OPEC's recent "sock-it-to-'em" meeting in Caracas to set higher prices, there was no similar outburst from the NOPECs, whose precarious economic condition also figured on the agenda. Instead, the Third World was treated to the spectacle of the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Treasury carrying the banner for them. American officials repeatedly warned the oil cartel that higher prices in the volatile petroleum market would be the economic undoing of the poorer nations.

Explanations for the NOPECs' seemingly contradictory relations with OPEC range from cowardice and awe of a successful Third World cartel to a shortsighted failure to see where their real interests lie. In fact, the NOPECs are perfectly aware of what is at stake, and therefore have limited their complaints to quiet—and effective—lobbying of friendly nations in OPEC, with the Central American countries taking their problems to Venezuela and the Moslem states going to Saudi Arabia. U.S. outbursts on the NOPECs' behalf are viewed by them as a cynical attempt to con OPEC into lowering prices for the benefit of First World consumers, who use 57 percent of the world's oil, compared with the NOPECs' consumption of only 13.8 percent. As an African diplomat observed, "We developing

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countries are paying for the First World's wasteful energy consumption and the oil companies' profits, which have pushed the price of oil beyond our reach."

Official U.S. breast-beating aside, OPEC has shown considerable concern for the NOPECs' plight. At the four-day meeting in Caracas, there was no disagreement about the continuation of a $5-billion-plus annual fund for aid to the non-oil-producing developing nations, in contrast to the heated and fruitless discussions over a unified price to be charged First World consumers.

Although such OPEC aid is frequently disdained in the industrialized world as a "mere pittance," it is considerably more generous than that provided by the First World. The OPEC countries earmark 2 percent of their gross national product for low-cost loans or outright gifts to the NOPECs in contrast to the industrialized countries, which contribute only 0.3 percent of their G.N.P., and most of that tied to First World products and technology. The latter's aid comes from renewable resources; OPEC funds do not.

The Venezuelans, Ecuadorians and Algerians want to institutionalize such lending through a $20 billion OPEC aid agency to enable the NOPECs to buy subsidized oil through donations or loans, depending on their economic situation. The proposal, which was made at Caracas, is now under study by OPEC's long-term strategy committee headed by Saudi Oil Minister Ahmad Zaki Yamani. The NOPECs "are absolutely right to complain to us about the lack of solidarity, not only in questions of money but also in more effective support and cooperation for their deteriorating economies," said Venezuela's Mines and Energy Minister Humberto Calderon. Venezuela has taken the lead in experimenting with a two-tiered pricing system to benefit the NOPECs, selling its crude to the oil-hungry Caribbean and Central American nations at $20 a barrel instead of $24. However, other OPEC nations are unlikely to follow suit as multi-tiered price systems are so complex that it would be impossible to detect whether the recipient of cheap OPEC oil is reselling or diverting it.

A more popular, behind-the-scenes development is government-to-government contracts, eliminating the giant oil company intermediaries and saving the NOPECs up to $10 a barrel. Thus, Brazil's state oil enterprise is buying 400,000 barrels a day from Iraq's oil company, and Colombia's state enterprise purchases 25,000 barrels a day from its Venezuelan counterpart. Altogether, such contracts have taken an estimated 35 percent of world oil exports out of the hands of the "Seven Sisters" (Exxon, Shell, Mobil, Texaco, British Petroleum, Standard Oil of California and Gulf).

Direct purchasing was one of six oil-related recommendations made at the meeting of nonaligned countries in Havana last September, but it also suits the strategy of a number of OPEC countries, such as Venezuela, which want to diversify their customers and lessen dependence on the Sisters. A declining dollar and the Carter Administration's freeze on Iranian bank deposits also have encouraged the Arab producers to intensify economic cooperation with the Latin American NOPECs, which offer alternative sources of supply, including food, and possibilities for investment. Arab delegations have visited most of the major Latin American countries, and Arab-Latin American banks have opened in Lima, Peru, and Caracas.

While most of these developments are motivated by commercial pragmatism, the identical view of the industrialized nations that NOPECs and OPEC hold also explains the developing countries' reluctance to attack the petroleum cartel publicly. Contrary to First World apologists who blame the world's economic ills on the bad guys in OPEC, studies by a variety of respected international institutions show that the source of world inflation and of NOPEC debt is the First World itself. In its annual report for 1978-79, for example, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade traces the resurgence of inflation not to petroleum price rises but to the failure of the industrialized countries to adopt strong and consistent anti-inflationary policies. GATT figures show that inflation had already begun climbing in Western Europe and the United States in mid-1978, six months before OPEC price increases and at a time when there was an oil glut on the world market.

Similarly, State and Treasury Department propaganda blaming oil price hikes for the NOPECs' $274 billion foreign debt is contradicted by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. UNCTAD's data show that the largest drain on these countries' economies is imports from the industrialized nations, high debt repayments to foreign banks and profit remittances by the subsidiaries of multinational corporations. Morgan Guaranty Trust also reports that the principal cause of the NOPECs' poor economic performance in 1978 was a 6 percent deterioration in their terms of trade with the First World, and not oil-price developments.

Higher oil prices may now push some NOPECs, such as Turkey, over the brink, but the OPEC nations are correct when they contend that they cannot be held responsible for the cumulative process that led those countries to this situation. Still, it's always easier to throw stones at sheiks than to put one's own house in order. The governments of the indus-

DRAWINGS BY JEAN-CLAUDE SUÁRES

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trialized countries have not squarely faced the problem of short-term capital movements by the multinational corporations and banks, for example, although they are the principal source of the world's monetary instability and the underpinnings of the stateless and uncontrolled trillion-dollar Eurocurrency market. Nor do they want to admit that their own printing presses are the source of world liquidity and inflation. Between 1972 and 1977, total international monetary reserves grew by $240 billion, $177 billion of which were in dollars and Eurodollars. As the GATT, UNCTAD and Morgan Guaranty studies show, OPEC price rises barely kept pace with these inflationary increases. □

ARTFUL DISSEMINATION

The F.B.I.–HUAC's Big Brother

KENNETH O'REILLY

In 1954, I.F. Stone accused the Federal Bureau of Investigation of being in cahoots with Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the fifth anniversary of whose demise we celebrate this month. The F.B.I., Stone wrote, "has had close, if carefully hidden, links with congressional witch hunt committees" and "has used the committees to revenge itself when the loyalty boards of federal agencies or grand juries have failed to take its informants seriously."

At the time, such charges were dismissed as the paranoia of the left, and those who made them were asked to "prove it." Now, the validity of Stone's charges has been dramatically demonstrated by new disclosures involving the F.B.I.'s COINTELPRO and COMINFIL programs that were specifically directed against the National Committee to Abolish HUAC (N.C.A.HUAC).

The F.B.I.'s efforts over two decades to "harass and discredit" critics like the N.C.A.HUAC by a conscious policy of leaking derogatory information to "friendly" reporters and Congressmen is not merely of interest to historians of the cold-war years. More important, this knowledge should inform the deliberations of Congress when it drafts a legislative charter for the F.B.I. Not only did the F.B.I. violate First Amendment rights of American citizens; the subsequent fraudulent denials by Bureau and Administration officials of Stone's (and precious few other critics') charges should cause Americans to reject the promises of those who now advocate executive discretion, flexibility and the need "to violate the law in certain circumstances."

One irony of the current debate, which Stone anticipated twenty-five years ago, is that only recently have thinking Americans come to recognize the F.B.I. as the principal threat to their civil liberties. That honor had previously belonged to Congress itself, and many civil libertarians had long championed the Bureau as a responsible alternative to such wild-swinging Red-hunters as the late junior Senator from Wisconsin and HUAC. Stone's allegations during the dog days of the cold war that both McCarthy and HUAC had a pipeline to the F.B.I. were summarily dismissed at the time. But the source of Stone's story was an inadvertent admission during a luncheon speech by Senator Karl Mundt, a McCarthy committee member and HUAC alumnus, that the F.B.I. would often "tip off" Congressional committees investigating subversive or un-American activities. In 1954, Stone's story could be dismissed as coming from a "Stalinist"; but when Senator J. William Fulbright took it up and publicized Mundt's admission, the Bureau was put on the defensive. Eager to neutralize Fulbright, Mundt, in conjunction with F.B.I. officials, hit upon a carefully orchestrated strategy. In a letter, written at F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover's request, Mundt denied that he had ever suggested that the F.B.I. "tipped off" Congressional investigating committees. Although a *Salt Lake Tribune* editorial writer who had also reported Mundt's remark reaffirmed that he had made it, additional disclaimers came from Hoover, McCarthy, Attorney General Herbert Brownell and President Eisenhower (who appeared uninformed about past practices but promised that no F.B.I. reports would be leaked during his Administration). Hoover "unequivocally" denied allegations that the Bureau furnished information to Congressional favorites as "an absolute lie." Although he was himself the recipient of F.B.I. leaks, McCarthy accused Fulbright of a "most irresponsible and most vicious" assault on the F.B.I.

These denials, we now know, were deliberate lies. Released F.B.I. files and interviews with the actual participants confirm this. Furthermore, as both a HUAC member and, later, a member of the McCarthy committee, Mundt had been the regular recipient of F.B.I. leaks. To protect the Bureau's reputation as a disinterested law-enforcement agency, Hoover had devised a "fail-safe" method of record-keeping. For example, Mundt's requests for the F.B.I. files on particular individuals were invariably "refused." An F.B.I. agent would always hand-deliver Hoover's letter declining this request, but he would bring along the file that had been requested and stand ready to answer any of the Senator's queries as to its contents.

The F.B.I. did not confine itself to opening up its files to HUAC members and other friendly Congressmen and reporters. F.B.I. officials, who sympathized with the witch-hunters in Congress, also sought to discredit HUAC's critics, as the recently released F.B.I. files on the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, successor to the National Committee to Abolish HUAC, show. These files confirm that HUAC was the recipient of more than twenty F.B.I. leaks regarding the anti-HUAC group. In return,

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HUAC helped the F.B.I. by disseminating the information received under a Communist Party counterintelligence program known as COINTELPRO CPUSA, in effect "laundering" the supposedly classified material in the Bureau's domestic intelligence files. A memorandum by F.B.I. Director Hoover declares that the purpose of this covert relationship is to "expose, discredit, or disrupt" the National Committee to Abolish HUAC.

The N.C.A.HUAC was founded in 1960 by retired Wall Street banker James Imbrie, ex-New Dealer Aubrey Williams, civil libertarian Alexander Meiklejohn and American Friends Service Committee chairman emeritus Clarence Pickett, and based in Los Angeles. Its sole aim was summed up in its title: the abolishment of HUAC. Before the national committee was publicly launched, Hoover had ordered the Los Angeles Special Agent in Charge (S.A.C.) to include memorandums "suitable for dissemination" in all reports submitted to headquarters. HUAC was one recipient of this information, for in late August 1960, Cartha D. DeLoach, F.B.I. Assistant Director for Crime Records and liaison with Congress and the media, forwarded portions of the Bureau's reports "to his sources at HCUA [HUAC]." And so, when the N.C.A.HUAC's formation was announced in September, *Los Angeles Examiner* reporter E.F. Tompkins and the American Legion's *Firing Line* described the new organization as a "Communist front" in detailed stories based on information (whether supplied directly by DeLoach or laundered through HUAC) contained in F.B.I. files. Three weeks later, a HUAC press release to United Press International based on these F.B.I. files led other conservative reporters, notably Fulton Lewis Jr. and Jack Lotto, to reiterate the Communist-front charges. Within the next nine months, Bureau officials disseminated twenty-three investigative reports and letterhead memorandums on the N.C.A.HUAC.

Ostensibly, the Bureau had opened its investigation to ascertain whether the N.C.A.HUAC was required under the Internal Security Act of 1950 to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board (S.A.C.B.) as a Communist front. The F.B.I. failed, however, to uncover evidence to support its recommendation, and its reports to the Justice Department were repeatedly rejected in 1962, 1963, 1964, 1966 and 1972. The Justice Department refused to initiate S.A.C.B. hearings, finding that "the evidence is insufficient" to warrant legal proceedings to classify either the N.C.A.HUAC or the N.C.A.R.L. as a Communist front or a Communist-infiltrated organization. F.B.I. reports, the department further concluded, contained "no indication . . . that . . . the CP, USA and its leaders have influenced the [organization's] operation." Having failed to force a S.A.C.B. hearing, Hoover complained to his S.A.C.s about "the paucity of information" contained in their field office reports and demanded the submission of detailed memorandums to headquarters for dissemination outside the Bureau. As a result of this order, the F.B.I. initiated at least fifty actions aimed at disrupting the N.C.A.HUAC.

From the beginning, Frank Wilkinson was the F.B.I.'s primary target within the N.C.A.HUAC. As the organization's field representative, Wilkinson crisscrossed the country during the 1960s, sometimes speaking ten or more times a week at churches and on college campuses. Scrupulously following procedures outlined in the F.B.I. *Manual of Instructions* concerning "public appearances of Party leaders," Bureau agents sent off "Urgent" teletypes detailing Wilkinson's movements and pledged to be alert for counterintelligence opportunities. Hoover's routine instructions encouraged agents to be imaginative but, lest they embarrass the Bureau, discreet: "Each office . . . should give careful consideration to possible counterintelligence plans to disrupt the schedule of Wilkinson. The utmost discretion will be necessary to avoid any basis for allegations that the Bureau is conducting investigations on college campuses, or interfering with academic freedom." Wilkinson's lectures were routinely photographed and secretly taped, and F.B.I. agents brought his itinerary to the attention of local police "Red squads." Invariably, during his speaking engagements, Wilkinson was asked "embarrassing" questions, such as if he was a Communist. An April 1962 Omaha Field Office report on a debate between Wilkinson and a John Birch Society spokesman at Drake University suggests that these queries were inspired by the F.B.I. During a question-and-answer period following the debate, according to the report, an F.B.I. informer "*had been able* to ask WILKINSON if he . . . was a Communist" (italics added). Most of the reports in the Bureau's N.C.A.HUAC files mentioning similar questions were frequently cross-referenced with other documents that ordered local F.B.I. offices to be alert for ways to "expose, discredit, or disrupt Wilkinson and his cause." Perhaps the most ambitious of the F.B.I.'s COINTELPRO actions attempting to ascribe "Communist motives" to the anti-HUAC group centered upon Wilkinson's October 1962 engagement at Knox College in Gales-

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burg, Illinois. The Bureau leaked information to HUAC, *Chicago Tribune* reporter Walter Trohan, *The Galesburg Register-Mail*, Fulton Lewis Jr. and, apparently, Senator John Tower, and monitored the plans of a local chapter of the Young Republican League to harass Wilkinson. Tower, however, failed to mention Wilkinson during his own speech at Knox College.

Other COINTELPRO actions were aimed at creating dissension among the N.C.A.HUAC and its many affiliates. Richard Criley, director of one of the latter, the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, was a frequent Bureau target. "The success of a good counterintelligence operation on an organization," the Chicago S.A.C. wrote in April 1962, "depends to a large degree in being able to decipher for public consumption the direction and control of the CP." Thus, the F.B.I. concentrated on Criley, who had been identified as a Communist before the Dies Committee in 1938 and again before HUAC in 1959. Regarded as "probably the only Communist of importance in Chicago who willingly will do battle with anyone, government or press, as a means to publicize his fight for civil rights," the Bureau explained Criley's frequent deviation from the Communist Party "line" by labeling him a member of the "left-wing faction." Actually, Criley had already quit the party when he was targeted under COINTELPRO, and the F.B.I. knew it.

Actions aimed at discrediting Criley and his anti-HUAC campaign included preparing a list of questions for Mike Douglas to ask Criley and Wilkinson during an anticipated May 1962 TV interview in Cleveland. This was to be accomplished not by a direct approach to Douglas but through an established F.B.I. source at KYW-TV. Before approving the action, Bureau officials ordered the Cleveland S.A.C. to determine if Douglas would be involved with the programming and, if so, to "furnish background information concerning him." The plan was authorized and was carried out not on the *Mike Douglas Show* but during a videotaped interview with Wilkinson for the noon news. For whatever reasons, the F.B.I. source at KYW-TV had decided to cancel Criley and Wilkinson's appearance on Douglas's show.

In its campaign against the N.C.A.HUAC and its affiliates, the F.B.I. did not limit itself to COINTELPRO activities. Field office reports were regularly forwarded to the Immigration and Naturalization Service and to the Internal Revenue Service's "Red squad"—the Special Service Staff. At the F.B.I.'s request, other intelligence agencies kept anti-HUAC activists under surveillance. The Central Intelligence Agency, for instance, opened Criley's mail, and supplied the F.B.I. with information on the parents of a young activist working to establish an anti-HUAC committee at Oberlin College. Not content to rely on informers, in January 1966 the F.B.I. burglarized the Chicago office of the Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. F.B.I. Assistant Director William C. Sullivan authorized the burglary in a telephone conversation with Chicago S.A.C. Marlin Johnson.* (In time, Johnson went on to head the Chicago Police Board.)

In addition, the F.B.I. kept close tabs on meetings of N.C.A.HUAC members with Congressmen who opposed, or were thought likely to oppose, the continuation of the Un-American Activities Committee. In anticipation of Wilkinson's visit to the capital, the Washington S.A.C. informed Hoover that his agents were "considering [the] possibility of counterintelligence activity in connection with presentation of petitions to Congressman CARLTON SICKLES." But, the S.A.C. complained, Wilkinson "held no public meetings [while contacting Congressmen on Capitol Hill] and no situation arose which would offer an opportunity to employ counterintelligence measures."

Furthermore, to deter members of the House from challenging HUAC's appropriation, the F.B.I. leaked information gathered by its informants. The New York Field Office dispatched the hot tip that the N.C.A.HUAC's local affiliate was using the same addressograph plates used to address copies of *The Worker* to Fulton Lewis and HUAC staff director Francis J. McNamara, in order to help "discredit the [N.C.A.HUAC] and weaken its attack on HCUA." Apparently, radio commentator Paul Harvey and other media "friends" were similarly supplied with adverse information about N.C.A.HUAC strategy and Congressional resolutions intended to cripple HUAC.

The activities of HUAC critics Congressmen William F. Ryan (D.-Liberal, New York), Phillip Burton (D., California) and Don Edwards (D., California) were also carefully observed. Internal Security Section chief F.J. Baumgardner first advised Sullivan in November 1962 of Ryan's anticipated anti-HUAC meeting in Los Angeles with newly elected Democratic Congressmen James Roosevelt, Edward R. Roybal, George E. Brown Jr. and Augustus F. Hawkins, and then directed DeLoach "to alert his sources at the HCUA . . . on a confidential basis." In January 1965, F.B.I. informants reported that Edwards and Burton planned to introduce anti-HUAC resolutions and secured a draft copy of Edwards's resolution before it was introduced in the House. DeLoach again forwarded this political intelligence to McNamara.

By 1967, a shift in the Bureau's priorities (occasioned by the initiation of the F.B.I.'s "New Left" and "Black Hate Group" COINTELPROs) led to a decline in the F.B.I.'s surveillance of the N.C.A.HUAC. After 1967, too, F.B.I. officials formally terminated the flow of information to HUAC regarding the N.C.A.HUAC. In a memorandum to Sullivan, Domestic Intelligence Division official C.D. Brennan stated that "our relations with the House Committee on Un-American Activities have been strained and the Director has instructed that no contact be made with it." This order, however, simply created another paper record—Bureau officials continued to share political information gathered in

*Retired F.B.I. agent M. Wesley Swearingen recently filed an affidavit stating that he personally took part in some 300 burglaries while assigned to the Chicago Field Office and that thousands were carried out from that office alone. It is fortuitous, however, that documentation for even this single Chicago-area break-in exists. The document authorizing this "black bag job" was marked "Not for File" and would usually have been destroyed. This particular memorandum, however, was not destroyed but filed in the S.A.C.'s personal safe and produced during discovery in the present suit by the Alliance to End Repression and others against the Chicago police.

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its investigations of other organizations and individuals with HUAC and its successor (HUAC was renamed the Internal Security Committee in 1969).

At a time when legislation to preclude future F.B.I. lawlessness is a declared priority of the Carter Administration, it is revealing to recall the responses by the executive branch and Congress to I.F. Stone's charges twenty-five years ago. Today, when documented abuses can no longer be readily denied, they are minimized, and the President, the Attorney General, the F.B.I. Director and leading conservatives in Congress and in the media assure us that abuses will not happen again—except "in certain circumstances." It is difficult to accept these assurances at face value in view of what we have learned of the covert relationships that existed among the F.B.I., committees like HUAC and conservative reporters like Lotto, Tompkins, Trohan and Lewis. The record of the F.B.I.'s crude political activism and the willing complicity of witch-hunters in Congress and the press during the cold-war years should cause us to pause before concluding that expressions of "regret" and promises of "good faith" will suffice to prevent future abuses of power. Congress's failure to date to insist upon specific legislative guidelines to restrict F.B.I. investigations can only be troubling to Americans concerned about civil liberties and committed to the preservation of a free society. □

U.F.W.'S MARCH FOR JUSTICE

The Lettuce Strike Story

RICHARD STEVEN STREET

The one-year-old United Farm Workers strike against a consortium of California-Arizona lettuce growers is a simple power struggle. At its core is neither the U.F.W.'s desire for better wages and working conditions nor corporate agriculture's ability to deliver what Cesar Chávez's union is asking. The issue is really this: how to bring farm workers out of the sweatshop era of labor relations and develop a viable tradition of collective bargaining.

Except for two small rural newspapers—*The Imperial Valley Press* and *The Salinas Californian*—the reporting on this strike has missed this point. Focusing instead on the spectacular events, the violence and the rhetoric, the newspapers all too often have disseminated ill-informed, superficial and, in one case, downright false information.

Richard Steven Street won the 1978 James D. Phelan Award for Literature from the San Francisco Foundation for his study of the origins of California agribusiness—Into a Good Land: The Emergence of California Agriculture, 1850-1920. *He is currently completing a history of California farm workers from 1769 to 1979.*

The false report, by a correspondent for *The Los Angeles Times* (subsequently corrected) stated late last October that the boycott of nonunion head lettuce had failed, that consumers couldn't differentiate unmarked packages of scab lettuce from U.F.W. lettuce, and that because of this Chávez had terminated the boycott of all head lettuce—except for lettuce packed by Bruce Church Inc., the nation's third largest lettuce grower and the biggest unsigned company. Chávez angrily denied the report, announcing at a rally before 5,000 students at the University of California at Davis that the U.F.W. was in fact developing a boycott in eighteen U. S. cities and two Canadian cities as well. Then, to verify the point, he participated in a "human billboard" demonstration in San Francisco. After that he left for an extensive boycott publicity and fund-raising tour of the country.

But the fact remains: the public is confused by the boycott and the lettuce strike. Questions abound. Didn't the much publicized victory over Sun Harvest end the strike? What is the present status of the U.F.W.? And how did this situation evolve?

Gov. Jerry Brown's pioneering labor law—the California State Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975, which created a Labor Relations Board—was supposed to have eliminated the strikes and boycotts and public consternation. And for a while it did. Given an organizing tool which most industrial workers had earned thirty years earlier, the U.F.W. de-emphasized the strike and the boycott and launched an unprecedented drive for union representation elections. This activity, combined with rivalry from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, company unions and grass-roots organizing efforts by the field workers, produced 414 representation elections within the first five months of the California Labor Relations Board's existence, 38 percent more than the National Labor Relations Board conducted during its first two years of activity. Chávez won three-fourths of the contests with the Teamsters and nine of ten elections against company unions and on farms where the other choice was "no union." Many people began pre-

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dicting that the U.F.W. would quickly organize California's 400,000 agricultural workers. After that, so the scenario went, Chávez would move from his base in California into the Mississippi turpentine forests, the peon labor camps of south Florida, the lettuce fields around Yuma, Arizona, the melon patches of the infamous Rio Grande Valley of south Texas and the cranberry bogs and cucumber patches of Maine and Wisconsin, and he would build a national union of agricultural workers, potentially the largest union in the United States.

But most California agribusinessmen like the concept of bargaining with Chávez about as much as a plague of grasshoppers. They have never become reconciled to the inevitability or even the desirability of signing contracts. Until 1976, however, they lacked the machinery and the momentum to present a united front. The first sign of change came in the spring of 1976 when, through lobbying activities in Sacramento, the growers succeeded in cutting off appropriations to the Labor Relations Board. Proposition 14—Chavez's attempt to pass a state referendum insulating the board from tampering—further solidified the growers' antiunion program. Corporate agriculture sprang into action, raised a war chest of $2 million, conducted an extensive media blitz and soundly defeated the measure. But that was not the end of the counterattack. Out of the anti-Proposition 14 campaign came a myriad of activities, goals, fund-raising drives, legal strategies, labor relations firms, public relations organizations and political endeavors which, when aligned with older activities and groups like the Farm Bureau, presented a formidable front to anyone opposed to them.

Buoyed by these successes and by the power of their new organizations, the growers proceeded to undermine the labor board. A variety of tactics were used. They included: stalling negotiations, through the use of highly competent antiunion attorneys specializing in farm labor law, up to three years after the U.F.W. had won the right to bargain collectively with a grower; clogging the Labor Relations Board's administrative machinery with thousands of "unfair labor practices," each one requiring investigation; firing U.F.W. members just before an election and bringing in laborers loyal to management; sponsoring court challenges to the board's power and authority, particularly over the issue of "access" of union organizers to farm property; sniping at the board with accusations that it was biased in favor of the U.F.W., that it was "arrogant" and that it had "marshaled the board agents as storm troopers to harass and intimidate growers," and proposing measures to cut the labor board's funds, diminish its powers and in other ways weaken it.

In November and December 1978, when the U.F.W. ranch committees (elected farm worker leaders from various ranches akin to the traditional local trade union officials) began renegotiating their contracts with thirty-two Arizona-California lettuce growers, they ran smack into this counterattack. The ranch committees asked for substantial pay raises ($3.70 to $5 per hour for field labor) and fringe benefits with cost-of-living increases spread over a three-year period. The growers countered with a take-it-or-leave-it offer: a 7 percent annual pay raise, ostensibly tied to President Carter's wage-price guidelines (Carter's wage policy exempts workers earning under $4 an hour; the price guidelines do not apply to unprocessed foods such as lettuce). The ranch committees turned that down and Chávez started talking strike. And so the stage was set for yet another of California's bloody grower versus farm laborer battles.

In January 1979, the U.F.W.'s contracts expired. Negotiations continued for a while, then fell apart. Neither side would budge from its position. Within the U.F.W., feeling was that wages when adjusted for inflation were just pennies above what they had been in 1970 and that farm laborers were sliding backward relative to other workers. Among the growers, sentiment was that the U.F.W. was too weak and disorganized to mobilize for a long, expensive, protracted strike and that the boycott, the weapon that had won the Delano Grape Strike for the U.F.W., was so cumbersome and hopelessly archaic that the union could never use it successfully.

On January 19, under lowering skies, the U.F.W. lettuce crews at California Coastal Farms trudged out of the muddy fields and went on strike. A week later, 3,500 pickers had joined them. The strike focused on the eleven largest lettuce growers, particularly the giant Sun Harvest operation, a vegetable-producing subsidiary of the New York-based United Brands (the old United Fruit Company) food conglomerate. This was a gamble based on the assumption that a selective strike would leave some growers free to harvest their crops and sell them for huge profits at inflated prices, thereby acting as a wedge in the growers' united front. It didn't work.

From the beginning of the strike, the growers seemed one step ahead of the U.F.W. First they brought in armed guards and proceeded to harvest their crops with scabs recruited in nearby towns, with illegal Mexican aliens and "green carders" who abounded throughout the area, and with schoolchildren. Next, they hired a public relations firm—the Dolphin Group, a Los Angeles-based company that had worked for Ronald Reagan, John Connally and Gerald Ford and had directed the anti-Proposition 14 campaign—and launched an extensive media campaign to discredit Chávez, the strike and the U.F.W.

At that point the strike, which had been relatively peaceful, grew ugly and violent. Fist fights, rock-throwing incidents, sabotage and car-clouting became daily occurrences. As it has so often in the past, the entire Imperial Valley lined up along economic and ethnic lines. Then on Saturday, February 10, the strike exploded. U.F.W. pickets began going into the fields. In some cases they tried to talk to the scabs; in many cases they were intent on running them off. At Sun Harvest's big lettuce field, 500 pickets were driven out by sheriffs and private guards swinging clubs and firing tear gas. At Mario Saikhon's ranch near Holtville, Rufino Contreras, a 28-year-old U.F.W. striker, was shot in the face. He was the third Mexican killed in the Imperial

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Valley during a farm labor strike, the fourth U.F.W. member murdered since the inception of the union. His death brought the total number of farm workers killed in California agricultural labor disputes to more than a dozen.

On Monday, February 12, and again on Wednesday, February 14, every farm worker walked out of the fields. About 8,000 of them, strikers and nonstrikers, weeping and waving black U.F.W. flags, plus Governor Brown, Chávez and various other leaders and dignitaries, attended Contreras's funeral. It was a public event, a media magnet, designed both to honor a man and rally the U.F.W. Photographers and reporters were everywhere. Overhead several airplanes buzzed, taking aerial photos. The growers labeled it an "emotional circus."

The mass was said on the U.F.W.'s ever-present flatbed truck, early in the morning, in *"El Hoyo"*—literally "The Hole"—a dusty, wind-swept parking lot for labor buses. Here, on the outskirts of Calexico a hundred yards north of the California-Mexico border, where the farmers pick up their workers at sunrise, Chávez eulogized Contreras. Cautioning against violence and revenge, he urged the strikers to remember Contreras and never give up. Shift the area of confrontation northward with the ripening lettuce crop, he said. Stay with the strike "for years if necessary and continue to build a union that will someday bring justice to all farm workers."*

A procession of *campesinos* a mile-and-a-half long and four abreast followed Contreras's casket north along the highway, through the streets of Calexico and out to Mountain View Cemetery. After the casket was in the ground, the workers silently filed past, each man and woman pausing to sprinkle a handful of dirt into the grave.

At that moment Governor Brown was meeting with growers, police, and state Agriculture Secretary Richard Romiger. He hoped to defuse the situation by getting both sides to sit down at the bargaining table. But the strike had become hopelessly stalemated. Each side held key advantages yet suffered from significant weaknesses. The U.F.W., for its part, had shut down harvest operations on eleven farms. On the other hand, nearly 60 percent of the lettuce industry was unaffected by the strike—except to reap huge profits from the high cost of scarce lettuce. Thousands of illegals were crossing into the valley to harvest the lettuce at wages that, to them, seemed excellent. And the growers, having weathered the strike thus far, began saying that they were ready to sacrifice most of their lettuce and even their melon and grain crops rather than sign contracts with Chávez.

What happened over the next four months was essentially a rerun of the Imperial Valley episode except that nobody was killed. The strike moved east to Blythe and Yuma, then north to Fresno and Oxnard and into the important Salinas Valley, "the nation's salad bowl," which produces 90 percent of all iceberg lettuce consumed across the United States during late summer and fall. And the confrontation continued. Property damage, sabotage of irrigation pumps, arson attempts on packing sheds, attacks on farm labor contractors supplying scab laborers to Sun Harvest, vandalism of motels housing nonunion workers, as well as mass arrests of U.F.W. pickets for trespassing and rock-throwing were widespread.

After nearly 1,500 U.F.W. pickets clashed with scabs and police along a 100-mile stretch of U.S. Highway 101, *The San Francisco Chronicle* wrote in an editorial that the strike had become a "spreading stain that disfigures the important California business that is agriculture." Commercial agriculture quickly cashed in on this and many similar statements. In dozens of major journals and newspapers, including *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, the growers' public relations agents published full-page advertisements calling for an end to the violence, the strike and the militancy, the intervention of the National Guard, the passage of legislation designed to weaken the U.F.W. and the enactment of several amendments castrating the Labor Relations Board and other pro-farm worker laws.

By late July, many so-called labor experts were writing the U.F.W. off as a lost cause. Many journals asked whether the union could survive. In the past, Chávez had escaped from similar predicaments by calling a boycott. He boycotted the Delano Grape growers in 1966-70, Gallo Wine and these very same lettuce companies from 1970 to 1978. Since last February 27, he had been threatening a boycott, particularly against Sun Harvest, which was extremely vulnerable through its parent company, United Brands, which marketed Chiquita bananas, John Morell Meats and A & W Root Beer. In early August, Chávez settled on this plan: keep talking strike, engage in sporadic work slowdowns and picketing activity, develop a general boycott of all nonunion iceberg lettuce and hit Sun Harvest hard by pushing a boycott of Chiquita bananas. But a boycott is a slow, difficult tactic to use. It requires massive publicity, a shift in emphasis away from the strike, the deployment of hundreds of U.F.W. members in cities throughout the United States and some dramatic event to launch the entire operation into motion.

So, as he has so often in the past, Chávez started marching. He announced a "March on Salinas," actually two marches, one beginning in San Francisco and heading 150 miles south to Salinas, the second starting 70 miles south of Salinas at San Lucas and moving north. The plan was to begin each march on July 31 and converge eleven days later in Salinas for a huge parade, mass rally and the U.F.W.'s

*On Monday, April 23, as the lettuce season ended, Imperial County Municipal Court Judge William Lehnhardt dismissed murder charges against the three Saikhon foremen arrested for murdering Contreras. One key element in the decision was the inability of the investigators to recover the bullet that killed Contreras. Curiously, a dozen farm workers who witnessed Contreras's murder and who were present during four days of hearings were never called to testify. Chávez called the decision a blot on American justice. "Grower gunmen," he said, "have been sent a message that once again it is open season on farm workers who are on strike. The judge's actions were incredible, with total disregard for decency and a lack of human sensitivity. Judge Lehnhardt has confirmed what we feared for three months—that there is no justice for farm workers in the Imperial Valley." (It is one of the great transcendental truths of California farm labor history that no one has ever served time or been convicted of the more than one dozen murders of farm workers during farm labor disputes. On the other hand, no grower has ever been killed by a farm worker during a labor dispute.)

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fourth biennial convention (which the union had moved, because of what it called "an emergency situation," from the Fresno Convention Center to the Hartnell College gymnasium in Salinas). All along the way, the marchers would visit the barrios and *colonias* and labor camps and Mexican communities and they would be joined by thousands of urban supporters, church groups and local trade unionists. In this way, the U.F.W. reasoned, more pressure could be exerted on the growers, the violence defused and the strike snatched from the jaws of defeat.

The plan worked. The march, led by 73-year-old Amparita Vasquez, a striking Sun Harvest employee, had a galvanizing effect on the farm workers of the Salinas Valley. Field hands joined the procession in ever-increasing numbers. Many threw down their hoes and lettuce knives and deserted the fields as the marchers passed by. On August 11, when they converged on the town of Salinas, the marchers were 15,000 strong.

The "March on Salinas" produced five changes. First, it briefly shut down the vegetable harvest in the valley (except for two ranches, Bud Antle Inc. and D'Arrigo Company). Second, it ended the violence which had become so threatening. Third, it recruited 400 farm workers and sympathizers and sent them out across the country to establish the boycott. Fourth, it gained the media attention (the media were drawn not only to the drama and pageant and color but to the presence of Governor Brown, who marched the last two miles with Chávez and spoke at the mass rally, and Jane Fonda, who appeared at the convention and pledged to work for the boycott) that is the prerequisite to a successful boycott. Fifth, it obtained increased financial support from the California A.F.L.-C.I.O., which pledged additional massive subsidies of money and manpower. But the most important breakthrough was a contract with Meyer Tomato Company of King City, California's largest tomato grower.

The tired convention delegates and spectators were just beginning to file out of the Hartnell College gymnasium at 7 P.M. on Sunday, August 12, when Chávez—looking gaunt and somber after an eight-day water-only "fast for patience and love"—rose and asked everyone to stop and be seated. "Fasten your seat belts," he said. "There is an important announcement to come." What followed was a detailed listing of the Meyer Tomato pact. It was the most liberal in the history of the U.F.W., possibly in the history of American farm labor. It included not only a 43 percent wage increase over three years for all of Meyer's 350 employees (41 cents a bucket for field hands in 1979, 43 cents in 1980, 46 cents in 1981, compared to 35 cents before), but also a cost-of-living increase, company-paid union representatives and an agreement not to replace any workers with machines—three features conceded for the first time by any grower anywhere.

Two days later, Gonzales Packing Company of Gonzales agreed to a similar contract. Two weeks after that, West Coast Farms Inc. of Watsonville broke ranks with the rest of the lettuce industry and signed a pact that boosted wages from $3.70 an hour to $5 an hour the first year, and $5.71 by the third year. The U.F.W. finally appeared to have driven a wedge into the growers' united front.

However, the other twenty-six lettuce companies remained adamantly opposed to signing with the U.F.W. Besides the wage issue, they were angered by Chávez's demands for a union hiring hall in place of company hiring and labor contractors, strict protection of U.F.W. members against arbitrary firing, the end to company transfers of workers from one job to another, and the payment of substantial fringe benefits. By agreeing to any one or all of these, the growers said, they would be putting themselves at a severe competitive disadvantage. So they dug in and prepared to battle through the August harvest, believing this one last time they could rid themselves of the U.F.W.

The Western Growers Association purchased its own insurance company, Quail Casualty Ltd. of Bermuda, and then proceeded to issue policies protecting growers from crop losses due to labor strife. Sun Harvest went even further. It spent $500,000 to $600,000 on various security measures, including hiring eighty armed guards, many of them off-duty Oakland policemen; surrounding three of its labor camps with new chain-link fence topped with triple strands of barbed wire; equipping all seventy of its buses with bulletproof windshields and wire-mesh window screens; suing the U.F.W. for $275 million in damages ($25 million in compensatory damages for crop losses, $250 million in punitive damages), and bringing in Roland Kemp, a management wizard who once had run banana plantations in Central America.

Added support for Sun Harvest and the rest of the lettuce industry came from the American Farm Bureau which, on August 29, at its meeting in Park Ridge, Illinois, voted to cancel plans for its 1982 San Francisco convention. (Two other grower organizations subsequently announced they were abandoning San Francisco as a convention site.) This was retaliation for the city's decision, via a 10-to-0 vote of its board of supervisors, to support the U.F.W. boycott. The city's Chamber of Commerce said the cancellation would cost San Francisco $5 million.

But the Farm Bureau's action was too little, too late. The next day Sun Harvest accepted a contract with the U.F.W. Word of the signing quickly spread throughout the valley. Spontaneous "wildcat" strikes broke out on farms that had previously remained free of U.F.W. activity. By September 6, nearly 2,000 pickers had walked out of the vegetable fields. Half of the valley's ranches were shut down.

As temperatures soared above 100 degrees, the iceberg lettuce, which requires cool temperatures to thrive and produce tight, compact heads, began wilting and rotting in the fields. This created a second problem for the growers. For most of the season they had been shipping their crops at $2.50 a carton, almost $1 below production cost. They did this because every September, when the lettuce harvest declines across the United States, the Salinas Valley enjoys a two-month monopoly of supply. As a result of this, Salinas growers have traditionally been able to regain their losses

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and pile up profits by selling their lettuce for $5 to $6 a carton. The heat and strikes and the knowledge of the wages being paid by Sun Harvest and other vegetable companies, plus the added threat of Chávez's boycott, combined to force more growers to the bargaining table. By mid-September twelve more lettuce companies had agreed to contracts. And on December 16 a tentative agreement with the Admiral Packing Company was announced. This leaves a dozen of the toughest, most intransigent lettuce growers unsigned.

Now Chávez is riding the crest of victory—a victory that many newspapers and journals are calling the most significant in the U.F.W.'s brief and tumultuous existence. The union leadership is confident that with half of the lettuce industry under contract, it will be easier to deal with the other growers. Perhaps. A more realistic view would be this: that when the lettuce season shifts south to the Imperial Valley in January, February and March, the union will once again find itself locked in a tough fight.

What is the price of victory? One U.F.W. member dead from an assassin's bullet; several hundred *campesinos* arrested; the tradition of nonviolence undermined; arson and sabotage of farm equipment throughout the rural districts; hundreds of U.F.W. members who have gone without employment since the strike began January 19, 1979; dozens of union pickets who have been beaten by armed squads.

Chávez consistently denounces the violence and the cries for retaliation. His position has never wavered. He continues to urge militancy, activism and pacifism. He points out, again and again, that the force of law and gun butts has always come down on the heads of the farm workers, that it is the U.F.W. members who get killed and stabbed with lettuce knives, not the growers and their agents. Yet it is also true that his union now has more than 40,000 members, many of them militant young Chicanos and Chicanas. These people refuse to be pushed around as in the past.

The strike and the spontaneous walkouts will not bring contracts with the remaining hard core of lettuce growers. Chávez knows this. He knows that in the entire history of American farm labor, no harvest strike has ever had more than marginal success. The industry is too big, the work force too mobile and spread out, the employment too short, the rural power structure too one-sided to sustain conventional trade union tactics. It has been the boycott and the threat of the boycott, used in conjunction with such unconventional tactics as marches, fasts, masses and hit-and-run walkouts, that have turned the tables on the growers.

Now, as the U.F.W. struggles to grow and transform itself from a movement, from "*La Causa*," into a viable, bread-and-butter union, it faces the challenge of once again shifting the scene of conflict outside the rural districts and into the urban areas where it enjoys wide support. The key is the boycott of Bruce Church and its "Red Coach" label. "That's the only way to do it," Chávez has said. "Go to the court of last resort—that is the American people—and tell them what's happening and get them to support us just like they did with the grapes." □

Pentagon

(Continued From Front Cover)

to its missile commanders before those weapons are destroyed, and any that did survive to retaliate would be less accurate. Within minutes would come the total destruction of enemy military targets on land by a combination of silo-based and submarine-launched ballistic missiles, cruise missiles and penetrating bombers. These targets would include missile silos, submarines in port, bomber bases, nuclear stockpiles, communication centers and all command posts. Most of these installations are "hard"; that is, they are buried underground and encased with concrete and steel. Accuracy would be a prime criterion.

Meanwhile, hostile submarines carrying ballistic missiles would be instantly sent to the ocean bottom by a team of antisubmarine warfare forces. But even with the most careful planning and the best of luck, there is no certainty that the attack would be 100 percent successful. Some enemy missiles are certain to escape destruction and would, of course, have to be intercepted before they complete their retaliatory mission. That task will fall to the Army's Ballistic Missile Defense Command.

This combination of first-strike technologies must function in what is called "real time"—meaning instantaneous and synchronized. Meticulous coordination must be accomplished by an intricate network of command, control and communication. The real key to first strike is "machine intelligence"; that is, vast quantities and many kinds of sensors operating by computerized automation to aim and fire weapons systems of almost incomprehensible destructiveness.

Let us start our update with the weapons that would be used to annihilate Soviet military land targets. The lethal Trident-2 submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) continues in the advanced development stage with a steep rise in funding predicted. The first Trident submarine was launched on April 7, 1979, in what was essentially a public relations exercise to cover up missed schedules and profit-maximizing cost overruns by General Dynamics' Electronic Boat Division. Nevertheless, sea trials will begin this year with the operational date set in 1981. Trident will be the ultimate first-strike weapon because the twenty-four Trident-2 missiles on each submarine will have the accuracy to destroy 408 Russian missile silos; the submarine can sneak close

*See Aldridge, *The Nation*: "The Ultimate First-Strike Weapon," February 4, 1978; "Who Will Shoot First in Space?" March 25, 1978; "The Missile Shell Game," May 13, 1978; "Navstar's First-Strike Capability," October 21, 1978; "Diana Moon's Deadly Dust," February 10, 1979; "The Cruise—SALT-Free and Deadly," April 14, 1979; "The Underground Trigger Finger," June 16, 1979.

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enough to the Soviet Union so that this can be accomplished within fifteen minutes after the missiles are launched.

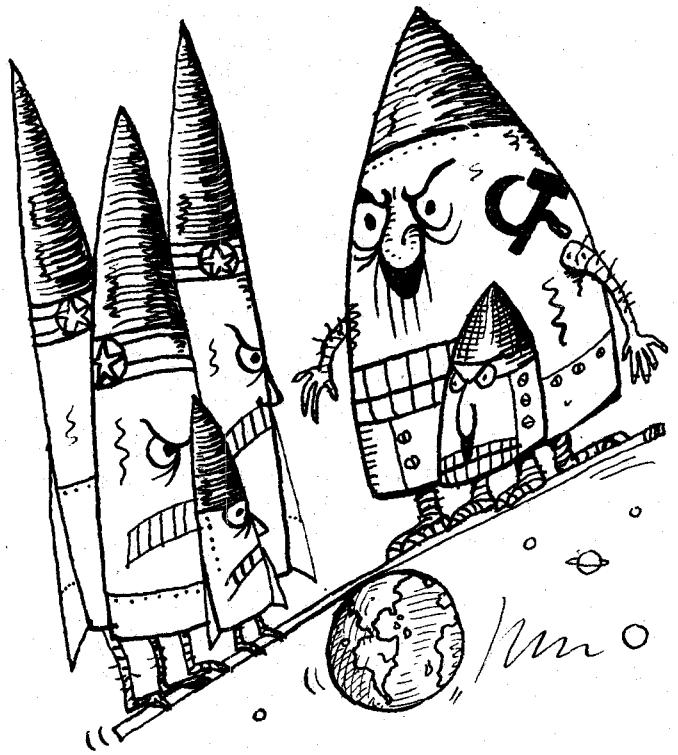
The *Fiscal Year 1979 Arms Control Impact Statements*, which the President is required to submit to Congress with the Pentagon budget, have this to say about Trident-2 missiles:

> . . . the potential impact of the Trident-2 missile is less clear and could be negative, due to the significant hard target kill capability it may have . . . this hard target capability could stimulate negative effects on Soviet reactions, which, in turn, could lead to instability in the strategic balance and complicate future strategic arms limitation efforts.
>
> . . . the Trident-2 SLBM (and other U.S. hard target kill capabilities) also could be perceived as a first strike weapon with a significant hard target kill potential against time-urgent targets. . . .

The statement goes on to say that Leonid Brezhnev has condemned Trident as a contribution to the strategic arms race and has threatened to deploy the Typhoon submarine system if the United States continues with Trident.

The MX missile is also forging ahead and is now in full-scale development. Moreover, the potential methods of basing these macabre weapons go beyond the proposed rail shuttle among numerous semihard shelters (the so-called race track system) to include multiple hard underground silos and even airplanes. (See Gordon Adams and David Gold, "Derail the MX," *The Nation*, November 10, 1979.) Four years ago I predicted that launching intercontinental ballistic missiles from large aircraft would be the preferred method. Citizen opposition to fencing off massive areas of land for MX bases may well force the Carter Administration (or its successor) to keep the air-mobility option open. The President's arms-control impact statements also have something to say about Missile-X:

> If MX as currently envisioned is deployed in substantial numbers, and the USSR continues to maintain a nonmobile ICBM force of comparable size to that it has currently, the United States will have acquired an apparent capability to destroy much of the Soviet ICBM force in a first strike . . . under extreme crisis conditions, Soviet leaders, concerned that war was imminent, and fearing for the survivability of their ICBMs if the United States struck first, nonetheless might perceive pressures to strike first themselves. Such a situation, of course, would be unstable. . . . .



Those words have a chilling effect. But they are buried so deep in technical jargon as to be obscure to the public eye. Nevertheless, the warning is there and in the President's own report.

Complementing Trident-2 and the MX are new guidance systems. The Navstar satellite navigation program is now demonstrating a prototype system. By 1985, the full constellation of twenty-four satellites will provide precise three-dimensional positioning plus direction and speed to allow a missile to correct its course during flight. Likewise, development of target-homing maneuvering warheads (MARVs) continues under Air Force management. Navstar and MARVs will enable ballistic missiles to make in-flight course corrections and final adjustments while bearing down on the target, and to demolish with precision the hardest and deepest missile silos and underground command posts.

The cruise missile situation is the proverbial can of worms —a squirming and confusing mass of activity. Along with development of air-launched, sea-launched and ground-launched cruise missiles, there is now a supersonic version called the advanced strategic air-launched missile (ASALM). That is an Air Force project but the Navy is countering in the bureaucratic arena with a tactical version that confuses the dividing line between strategic and tactical even more. ASALM will travel so fast that it will not need wings to remain airborne and outmaneuver interceptor missiles. Its development has been accelerated by two years and the first one will be operational in 1985. It would use an integral rocket/ramjet engine, which has a rocket motor that accelerates the missile to ramjet speed at which point the rocket nozzle liner falls out, leaving a larger ramjet nozzle and the empty motor case, which becomes the combustion chamber for the ramjet engine.

A more futuristic concept will use solid ramjet fuel, and the development of "hard hydrogen"—a sort of hydrogen coal—seems to be the opening wedge. The weight saved by eliminating fuel tanks, lines, valves and metering devices will increase the missile's effectiveness and range. Air Force planners are already talking about hypersonic cruise missiles that will fly six times the speed of sound at altitudes between 150,000 and 200,000 feet. That is well above the reach of Soviet antiaircraft missiles and interceptor aircraft.

Nor does that exhaust the ambitions for the cruise missile. Pentagon think tanks have also come up with plans for an intercontinental cruise missile that will drop off stages as fuel is consumed. Military officials have already determined that a huge intercontinental cruise missile force could decisively answer a Soviet nuclear attack.

In the category of manned aircraft, the penetrating

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bomber has not been abandoned, despite the "defeat" of the B-1. Defense Under Secretary for Research and Engineering William J. Perry awarded contracts to several aerospace firms in 1978 to study the future role of bombers in the U.S. strategic triad. The study was completed in August 1978, but Dr. Perry requested another $10 million for last year to make detailed analyses of the specific approaches recommended in the 1978 study. Rockwell International provided five new bomber concepts and Boeing supplied six. They vary from the "flying wing" idea to an aircraft that will fold its wings away completely and blast along rocket-style. Contracts for further proposals are expected to be issued soon. The anti-B-1 coalition forces must regroup for another round. (See Fred Kaplan, "The B-1's Back," *The Nation*, December 22, 1979.)

Meanwhile, in early 1978, the Air Force completed a study of its own called SABER PENETRATOR VII which was aimed at strategic-bomber alternatives for the mid-1980s. Strategic Air Commander Gen. Richard H. Ellis says that the $10 million requested by Dr. Perry is only the first phase of a penetrating-bomber study which will cover a completely new technology and will be many steps beyond the B-1. A $15 million request is anticipated for 1981 and the funding curve will turn up sharply after that. Air Force projections call for completion of a design by 1981 and full-scale development by 1985.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration is also in the act. It awarded Lockheed Corporation a contract to study a hypersonic jet transport that will burn liquid hydrogen fuel and zip along at 4,000 miles per hour at an altitude of 120,000 feet. Ostensibly, the Lockheed study is a civilian program, but the Air Force has shown a keen interest in this concept for several years. The trend now seems to be away from low-level penetrators like the B-1 and toward very high and very fast strategic aircraft.

In addition to these land-attack weapons, there is also antisubmarine warfare (ASW). The U.S. Navy spends billions a year devising a medley of weapons, sensors and carrier vehicles that will pinpoint and sink any hostile submarine anywhere in the oceans. Financed to the tune of $6.5 billion annually, U.S. antisubmarine efforts should reach their ultimate capability by about 1982.

The President's *Fiscal Year 1979 Arms Control Impact Statements* evaluate each antisubmarine warfare system independently and then minimize the isolated effect on arms-control negotiations. The benign results of these disjointed studies have been refuted by a January 1979 report prepared by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress. Whereas each individual ASW program may have little effect by itself, collectively they become extremely destabilizing. The report states:

> The United States engages in a wide range of ASW activities. Not only are the various components being upgraded, but they are being coherently and systematically integrated. Indeed it is the achievement of mutually reinforced relationships among the individual elements, rather than the incremental improvement to particular programs, that accounts for the rapid overall increase in ASW effectiveness.

In contrast, the report says, "Today and in the near future the Russians apparently have no effective capability for open-ocean ASW, regardless of the scenario envisaged." At this point it is well to recall that it is the alleged threat of Soviet ASW advances that justifies the entire Trident system. Furthermore, as the report states, oceanwide ASW is offensive—and that is precisely the capability the United States is seeking.

The Library of Congress report more or less parallels information I obtained and published two years ago in that it fits all of the many ASW activities together to show an offensive pattern. It states that: "If the United States achieves a disarming first-strike capability against Soviet ICBMs, and also develops an ASW capability that together with attacks on naval facilities could practically negate the Soviet [ballistic missile submarine] force, then the strategic balance as it has come to be broadly defined and accepted would no longer be stable." Then follows this cogent warning that "*current trends in U.S. ASW programs should fall under close scrutiny*" (emphasis added). To neglect that warning is to invite disaster.

The final two weapons areas associated with a first-strike strategy are space warfare and defense against ballistic missiles. They are similar because knocking a satellite out of orbit is almost the same as shooting down a missile flying through space in a ballistic arc. The sensors and weapons are practically identical.

Mosaic infrared sensors in satellites will be the ultimate detection and targeting instruments against hostile missiles and spacecraft. The use of a computer chip with thousands of small detectors per square inch of surface area will give extreme sensitivity because each detector will stare continuously at the same spot. All of them together will cover a large panoramic view. A preliminary experiment with a mosaic infrared sensor was tested in December 1978 at the Kwajalein Atoll—terminal end of the Pacific Missile Range. It was rocketed into space where it tracked a Minuteman ICBM launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California.

After being detected, however, these hostile bodies must be destroyed. One means of doing that is with homing interceptor technology (H.I.T.). This involves a nonnuclear warhead fired from the ground by rocket which will seek and destroy its target with impact energy. The proposed collision device is a screen of depleted uranium rods which, because of their density, will have tremendous penetrating power. Although H.I.T. warheads have been considered for intercepts above the atmosphere since the early 1960s, and current development programs along that line are being accelerated, the Army Ballistic Missile Defense Command is now interested in using H.I.T. vehicles against approaching warheads that have already come down into the earth's atmosphere. A $70,000 contract to study low-altitude intercepts was awarded last February.

The other exotic family of antimissile/antisatellite weapons is called "directed energy." This includes killer

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lasers, which are moving ahead in development, but in 1978 the concept of subatomic-particle beams gained notoriety. The Army is working on a ground-based proton beam to zap out enemy warheads as they approach. Beams of positively charged protons, however, would not serve the purpose over long distances in space because they would be bent by the earth's electromagnetic field. That is why both the Army and Air Force are enchanted with Sipapu.

Sipapu (an American Indian word meaning "sacred fire") is a beam of subatomic neutral particles that will be directed from a space station against unfriendly satellites and missiles. Since the particles in this beam are not electrically charged, they will not be deflected by the earth's polarity but they will require a nuclear reactor in space to get them started. In spite of the uproar about the Soviet Cosmos 954 crash that scattered radioactive fuel over the face of Canada, Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in New Mexico is developing just such a power plant. Sipapu is scheduled for demonstration in 1983 with a production contract expected to follow immediately.

Because killer lasers and Sipapu have such fine beams, their aiming device must be very exact in order for them to hit one small object after another over vast distances. For that reason the Charles Stark Draper Laboratory in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has been called in. The Draper lab is spearheading the design of a highly precise pointing mechanism for the civilian space-based astronomy telescope. Satellite stargazing is not benign. Those same parameters are needed to aim directed-energy weapons. As the January 1979 Library of Congress report points out: "Advanced weapons systems, such as high-energy lasers and charged-particle beams in the long term and nonnuclear homing intercept technology in the near term, could pose significant arms control problems. . . ."

This has been a very hasty summary of recent first-strike activity and it is by no means a comprehensive review. As I pointed out earlier, there are many so-called "tactical" and "theater" weapons in Europe and other places that have strategic significance and that fit into the preparation for aggressive nuclear war. Foreign arms sales are another aspect which provide a burgeoning business market closely paralleling Pentagon contracts as a source of easy profits. These sales are fueling the kind of unrest in smaller countries that leads to the international crises that can spark a nuclear first strike by one superpower or another.

Nevertheless, this short overview of how the first-strike machinery is rolling along illustrates that the Pentagon is losing no time. The closer that capability comes, the more precarious our relationship to the Soviet Union becomes. Besides the holocaust that might erupt in times of crisis, there is also the upset to arms-control negotiations. It is pure hypocrisy to talk about curtailing weapons while plunging madly ahead with the development of still more formidable ones. And with the postponement of Senate debate on SALT II, hope fades for further, and more comprehensive, arms-control talks under SALT III, which might arrest the development of new weapons.

Behind the development of these unthinkable weapons systems lies another crucial element of military strategy—the systematic deluding of an already uninformed public. Most prominent here is the Russian scare. To prevent meaningful reductions in weapons during treaty talks (with a corresponding reduction in business profits), the American public is told about all the devices the U.S.S.R. could be or might be building. The Russians are achieving a hard-target kill capability, it is said. Yet this rhetoric fails to make a quantitative comparison with U.S. arms research. A careful analysis of the entire picture, which can be extracted from official documents, if one has the technical knowledge and patience to do it, reveals that the United States is leading in every aspect of weapons development. We have at least a five-year lead and in some cases an advantage of eight or more years. For the most part, Soviet production is struggling to offset U.S. quality. Wide recognition of the delusion that is taking place is a prerequisite to reversing the arms race.

This is not to say that Russian weapons pose no threat. They could annihilate us. But we cannot afford to become paranoid; a level-headed approach is required to counter first-strike ambitions among the U.S. military and damp down the sense of urgency that is impelling the rush to build these weapons.

Putting the brakes to Trident and Missile-X would be a good first step. That will effectively scuttle any potential for a disarming first strike and could be used to lever the Russians into abandoning their potentially mobile SS-16 missile and not deploying the Typhoon submarine. Halting the U.S. cruise missile would open the door for more serious negotiations on arms reduction. And the beauty of the whole situation is that these programs can be abandoned without endangering our own security. In turn, their demise will buy us more time to start addressing other weapons and for negotiating bilateral and multilateral agreements such as a comprehensive test ban (which was close to being signed) and a ban on all flight testing. These are treaties that can be easily verified against cheating. Then we can move to removing the "aim points"—the missiles in silos—which are the most critical military targets in both countries. A scientific symposium on disarmament in 1975 revealed that the Russians would be interested in bilateral agreements to this effect. These would be *meaningful* steps.

But time is running out. Aggressive weapons systems can only be stopped while they are being developed. In a scant four years, most of the first-strike technologies will be in or nearing production. By then, there will be so much invested that it will be economically impossible to stop them. If we don't halt those programs in the next few years, a first-strike capability will assuredly be attained—and once it is attained, historic precedents have shown that it will be used at some time in some place. As Defense Secretary Harold Brown warned, it is not "at all clear that an initial use of nuclear weapons—however selectively they might be targeted—could be kept from escalating to a full-scale nuclear exchange." □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Metaphor in the Machine

NEIL POSTMAN

Every century gets hold of at least one good idea to direct the way things are to be understood. In our own time, such an idea is that the instruments through which we see the world and the symbols in which we think are not neutral conveyances but active participants in how we see and what we think. This is what the philosopher Wittgenstein meant when he said that language is not only the vehicle of thought but also the driver. This is what the physicist Heisenberg meant when he said that we see nature only through the questions we put to it. And this is what the psychologist Adelbert Ames meant when he said we see things not as they are but as *we* are.

This is, of course, what Marshall McLuhan meant in saying that the medium is the message. His aphorism, however, is in need of some slight amendment because, as it stands, it confuses a message with a metaphor. A message denotes a specific, concrete statement about the world. But the forms of our media and symbols do not make such statements. They are rather like metaphors, working by quiet but powerful implication to enforce their special definitions of reality. Whether we are experiencing the world through the lens of language, statistics or a television camera, our media-metaphors classify the world for us, sequence it, frame it, enlarge it, reduce it, color it, argue a case for what the world is like. We do not see or understand anything the way it is but only as our available means of discovery and expression reveal it.

So far as I am aware, there is no academic field in which this idea does not have an important and expanding place. One would assume, then, that it would be reflected in the understandings of those who do popular social criticism, let us say in journals like *The Nation* or newspapers like *The New York Times*. Mysteriously, it is not. Our most accessible critics remain preoccupied with the content of messages. The metaphors are left alone. Almost everything important about what is happening to us escapes notice, or at least criticism.

As a simple illustration of the limitations of message-criticism, consider the field of education and, in particular, the widespread use of standardized, "objective" tests. This is no trivial matter since the effort to place the evaluation of intelligence under the jurisdiction of a particular kind of instrument is bound to have the most serious social consequences. What sort of criticism have we had? To be sure, education critics have made abundant attacks on such tests, but always by directing their observations at deficiencies of content: the questions are ambiguous, the questions are culturally biased, the answers are not made public, etc. But what is important about such tests does not lie in the details of their content, and laws to make the answers public do not touch on the issue the tests raise. What is of major cultural interest here is that such tests put forward a particular metaphor of the mind of which most people seem entirely unaware—the mind as a machine whose "output" is precisely measurable. It is a metaphor which permits us to say that your mind is a "126" or a "7.9," and which allows us to strip from the mind all dimensions of affect, motivation and purpose. Machines have no feelings about the tests you put them to, and we do not expect a machine to have an opinion on the purpose of a test. The question of a machine's motivation is irrelevant. We require only that our test-takers be reliable, by which we mean that the mind-machine will be more or less consistent in its performance and that its performance will produce an unambiguous number.

That is why social criticism must begin as media criticism, by which I mean that human affairs are conducted under the sovereignty of symbols and media whose forms control the content of our thought and action. Just as the physical environment determines what the source of food and the exertions of labor will be, the information environment gives specific direction to the kind of ideas, social attitudes and intellectual presuppositions that emerge. No one knew this better than Socrates, who in the *Phaedrus* unleashed a fierce attack on the practice of writing—not on *what* people write but on the fact *that* they write. Writing, he charged, will reduce the power of people's memories; will change the nature of learning by forcing people to follow an argument rather than to participate in it, and, finally, will undermine concepts of privacy and social propriety. To quote him: "Once a word is written, it goes rolling all about, comes indifferently among those who understand it and those whom it no wise concerns, and is unaware to whom it should address itself and to whom it should not do so."

What Socrates teaches us here is how to proceed in doing social criticism: one begins, and very nearly ends, by considering and criticizing the effects of the forms of our symbolic machinery. In our own time, a few academic social critics have followed this version of the Socratic tradition. Among the more distinguished, one thinks of McLuhan, Jacques Ellul, Lewis Mumford, Ivan Illich and Joseph Weizenbaum, whose book *Computer Power and Human Reason* does for computers what the *Phaedrus* does for writing. But in our magazines and newspapers, even our "serious" ones, there is general silence on the matter.

Perhaps it is too much to expect that those who write on politics, education, religion or manners should have any knowledge of how human behavior is shaped by the available forms of expression. Besides, a question such as, How do the political beliefs of oral cultures differ from those of writing cultures? might seem too distant and abstract for daily or weekly comment. Even such a question as, How does the speed-of-light movement of information affect concepts of diplomacy? might appear beside the point to those who are burdened with the problem of interpreting the messages of diplomatic exchange. One strains to imagine, to take another example, where the members of the editorial board of *The New York Times* would find the time or knowledge to

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contemplate the psychological and social effects of placing twelve to fourteen unrelated stories on the front page of their newspaper. Or, to take a similar case, can one expect NBC's news department even to wonder about the metaphor of the world that is projected by a typical television news program which might include a dozen thirty-second commercials interspersed among ninety-second stories of earthquakes, fires, rapes and football scores? Is this a global village? Is this an open-air lunatic asylum? Is this an electric circus? But one does expect that those who write media criticism should be obsessed with such questions. Astonishingly, our media criticism is not even media criticism.

Let us consider television. It is hard to escape the suspicion that television is exerting as much influence on our cognitive aptitudes, social relations, political interests and personal values as did the printing press, and, possibly, the alphabet. Thus, it is surprising, to say the least, that TV critics should waste everyone's attention by commenting on the plots of stories, the quality of acting, the personalities of stars, the line-up of new shows or even the economics of the industry, none of which has much pertinence to the metaphysical issues television raises. It is a criticism that makes television indistinguishable from vaudeville and hides from us what the medium is and does, for we have in television not a vaudeville show but a revolutionary mode of discourse whose terms need to be revealed to the populace as articulately and persistently as possible.

Television, for a start, increases by an as yet incalculable factor the amount of visual stimulation and iconography available to the population, and by so doing, reduces the importance of language. Although human speech is heard on television, and on rare occasions assumes importance, people mostly *watch* television. And what we watch are continuously changing images, any single image rarely lasting more than three seconds. (The average length of a shot on a TV commercial is two seconds.) Moreover, not unlike movies and, in fact, dreams, the television image places the viewer in the center of the action in a continuous present. There is no analogue in TV imagery to the past tense in language, which is why language must be used to indicate that a videotape one is seeing was actually made weeks or months before. For these reasons and more, television does not and cannot convey ideas, in the usual meaning of that word. Ideas are formed in words; they are statements about the world or statements that connect statements. One may say of ideas that they are true or false, logical or not, supportable or weak. But TV imagery is not propositional or logical. It is presentational. It fills our minds with images of experience, not commentary on it. You can dislike television but you cannot disagree with it. To put it simply, *The Love Boat* is irrefutable. So is a McDonald's commercial, for you cannot show that its imagery is true or false. The words "true" and "false" come from another mode of discourse altogether (which fact, incidentally, makes the "truth in advertising" laws pointless).

Inquiries about the effects of "serious" programs like *The Ascent of Man* and *Connections* show that no one remembers very much of their ideational content (always expressed in language) but can easily recall some of the striking imagery. Moreover, the attempts to suggest historical continuities on both these series fail because all the imagery appears as equally contemporaneous: every image is *now*. The attempt, at least in J. Bronowski's case, to offer a theory of scientific progress also fails because pictures have no thesis. Their level of abstraction is concrete and invariable. While Bronowski *talked* his thesis as a supplement to the images, his talk could not compete with his pictures. (In the competition among media, talk is always defeated by pictures.) In the end, what the audience experienced was a series of discrete, disconnected images which had no history and suggested no principles.

All of this is not to say that television is "bad." To judge television as bad for representing the world in concrete, ever-changing, fragmented imagery is like judging language bad for representing the world in slow-moving, sequential, tense-saturated propositions. At this point in our understanding what is required are not judgments of goodness and badness but intelligent conjecture about the nature and effects of the medium. Does TV, for example, work to undermine language, as Socrates thought (correctly) that writing would undermine memory? Given the fact that most people experience TV in physical and pyschological isolation, does TV undermine the idea of public man and social responsibility? By putting the same images into everyone's mind regardless of age, sex or education, does TV attack the basis of political hierarchy and authority? Is TV, like the alphabet and printing press, a democratizing medium, or because of its one-way direction, does it favor authoritarianism? By compressing time to an extraordinary degree, does TV alter our expectations of the rate of social change? Through its stress on immediacy, does TV imagery undermine our sense of history? Through its need for an inexhaustible supply of information, does TV reveal all social secrets and thereby change our concepts of social propriety, or obliterate distinctions between childhood and adulthood?

There are scores of such questions pleading to be addressed, even speculatively, while our media critics occupy themselves with whether or not Henry Winkler will return next year in his role as the Fonz. McLuhan is right: Content is the bone the thief throws the dog to keep it occupied while he makes off with everything that is yours.

But television is only one feature of our information environment. Think of it all for a moment: How strange are the forms in which information is created and reality abstracted—in disembodied voices, in black scribbles, in images seven times life size, in dots, in electronic impulses. And think of what is required of our brains, senses and bodies to get it. We must sit in dark palaces or well-lit living rooms. Light may come from behind a screen or in front of it. Pictures may intersect sentences. We may go back in time or ahead of it. Or time may be suspended, contracted or expanded. And think of how slowly some forms of symbols move and how rapidly do others. And think of where these forms come from and to whom they are addressed.

Admittedly, the meaning of all of this is difficult to sort out and what we know of how media work is limited, in no small measure because our critics have not put their minds to the matter—do not even *think* about it. But we do know at least this: because of the symbolic forms in which information is encoded, different media have different intellectual and emotional biases; because of the accessibility and speed of their information, different media have

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different political biases; because of their physical form, different media have different sensory biases; because of the conditions in which we attend to them, different media have different social biases. And we also know, as Socrates did, that significant changes in the structure of society are precipitated by changes in the structure of information. Change the form of information, or its quantity, or speed, or direction or accessibility, and some monopoly will be broken, some ideology threatened, some pattern of authority will find itself without a foundation.

We might say that the most potent revolutionaries are those people who invent new means of communication, although typically they are not aware of what they are doing. When Gutenberg announced that he could manufacture books, as he put it, "without the help of reed, stylus, or pen but by wondrous agreement, proportion, and harmony of punches and types," he could scarcely imagine that he had just become the most important political and social troublemaker of the Second Millennium. Unless that title be given to Samuel Morse who, having sent the first electric message ever transmitted on the planet, at least had the grace to ask, "What hath God wrought?" The question was asked 135 years ago. It is time that our social critics began to address it. As I remarked earlier, to discuss politics, education, religion and manners without taking into account the symbolic machinery which create their content may be understandable, although it is surely shallow and misleading. But to discuss media without taking media into account is preposterous from beginning to end. □

The Octopus

ROBERT ENGLER

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losses on the contracts they now hold.

Anger at the grain trade is a recurring sentiment in American political history. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, populists of the Great Plains identified grain merchants, along with bankers, railroaders and lawyers, as their arch-exploiters. This reviewer recalls old-timers of the National Farmers Union and their counterparts on the Canadian prairies describing how they were regularly cheated in the grading and buying of their harvest. When aroused farmers organized cooperatives and withheld crops from the market in anticipation of a better price, the railroads responded by denying them the right to build grain elevators at sidings, necessitating double loadings. It was not uncommon for co-op elevators to burn "mysteriously"—in one year an estimated fifty did so. "See those big mansions," chortled one farm leader, pointing to former residences of grain dealers in St. Paul and Minneapolis, "They are now whorehouses."

Dan Morgan's critical tale is not of battles for agrarian justice. Rather it focuses on the control of the international grain trade over the food base of an emerging global economy. It does not conclude with any suggestion of righteous vengeance against the malefactors. Indeed, one might say that *Merchants of Grain* has no ending. The author can see on the horizon no fundamental challenges to the present patterns of domination.

The thesis is straightforward, the tone set by Morgan's opening comment that "it is difficult to understand how the international grain companies could have slipped through history as inconspicuously as they have. Grain is the only resource in the world that is even more central to modern civilization than oil." Five companies built by seven families —Cargill Inc. of Minneapolis, the Continental Grain Company of New York City, André of Lausanne, Switzerland, the Louis Dreyfus Company of Paris, and the Bunge Corporation—control the bulk of grain in international trade. They have strong footholds in transportation, loading, shipping, processing and distribution. Cargill owns or leases at least 12,000 inland grain elevators and has a huge network of grain hopper railroad cars for operating 100-car shuttle trains to major ports in the United States. Cargill and Continental own or lease about one half of all the grain storage space at American ports.

In the United States these middlemen account for about 85 percent of the total value of grain exports, with Cargill and Continental each responsible for about a quarter. In 1974, Cargill moved about 42 percent of American barley, 32 percent of oats, 29 percent of wheat, 22 percent of sorghum, 18 percent of soybeans and 16 percent of corn. Internationally, the five merchants handle 90 percent of the Common Market's trade in wheat and corn, 90 percent of Canada's barley exports, 80 percent of Argentina's wheat exports and 90 percent of Australia's sorghum exports. These companies act to integrate wider sections of the world into the American way of eating and, not incidentally, into their own empires.

Their profits are sizable. Cargill, for example, reported a net income in 1973 of nearly $108 million on sales of $5.2 billion and a net worth of $352 million from its 140 subsidiaries in thirty-six countries. These profits have enabled the dealers to expand into sugar, cotton, copra, flaxseed, brooder production, turkey processing, pet food, salt, fertilizer, paint, glass, chemicals, coal, steel, lead, railroads, cargo vessels and banking.

The merchants of grain do all of this with considerable immunity from public accountability. "Ninety-nine percent of our customers have never heard of us," Cargill has pointed out. At times they possess information apparently not available to responsible government officials, the farmer and the general public, as happened when the Soviet Union bought up tremendous stores of grain in 1972. The Central Intelligence Agency did know, it was subsequently revealed, obtaining this information from the grain companies and passing it on to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. "It [the C.I.A.] could hardly be blamed," Morgan observes, "if the officials chose to ignore it or conceal it, for whatever purposes." As Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins reported in their study, *Food First*, the farmers had been warned to expect a surplus, encouraging them to sell their bumper crops at a considerably lower price than they would have gotten if they held them a little longer. (One department negotiator was to become a Continental vice president.) But Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz explained that "Farmers didn't lose money because of early sales, they just didn't make the additional money they might have made."

Morgan, on the staff of *The Washington Post*, mixes hard data and anecdote in readable proportions. Occasionally the journalist's penchant for assuring us that he was there, or at least creating the illusion that we were, as when he describes a menu or the mood of one of the principals of the family dynasties, seems to come at the expense of more analytic depth. But he is alert to historical forces that shape the political economy. Glimpses of the changing significance of grain and bread in daily life and social structure are linked to the technology of the milling process which helped make possible the international concentration of the modern industry.

Producing no grain themselves, the merchants seek to buy cheaply from the farmers, who have limited options, and to sell for as much as they can get. Dealing in futures is a key, and the early traders often did so with a minimum of initial investment and a maximum of bluff.

The expansion of the grain economy has involved encouraging people everywhere to shift from indigenous crops to imported grains and then hooking them onto the distribution system, including the seed they once produced themselves. Rice eaters were to become consumers of wheat bread and corn and soybean-fed meat and poultry. More affluent people were to eat corn-fed beef. Only a handful of countries now have grain surpluses and the United States is the superpower among these.

> American farmers are connected to Asians, Europeans, Africans and South Americans by a moving belt of grain. One bushel of wheat out of two, one bushel of rice and soybeans out of three, and one bushel of corn out of four moves abroad. Ohio wheat is made into flour for Indian chapatis; Washington State wheat goes for Korean cookies; North Dakota durum wheat becomes yellow pasta flour in Italy and couscous in Algeria; Iowa corn feeds Europe's hogs and California rice fills Indonesians' supper bowls.

Morgan ably tells of the diplomatic intrigue supporting this global incorporation. Oil revenues fired the modernizing ambitions of the Shah and the eagerness of American policy makers to turn Iran to agribusiness and its tech-

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Robert Engler, formerly assistant to the president of the National Farmers Union, is the author of The Politics of Oil *and, most recently,* The Brotherhood of Oil *(both published by the University of Chicago Press.)*

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nology, making it "a virtual agricultural protectorate" of the United States. Food policy was also used in the "destabilization" of Salvador Allende's Chile and in the courtship of Anwar el-Sadat's Egypt. Wheat shipments were withheld and flour production curtailed to bring Zaire into line as a responsible, cash-paying colonial under Continental Grain. There is a careful account of the grain dimensions of Koreagate and the outright political corruption involved in rice sales. The much-investigated "great grain robbery" of 1972, when the Soviet Union purchased huge quantities of grain on terms favorable to farmers and more so to the merchants, is discussed. In the period 1972-75, when food costs for Americans increased $54 billion, this sale meant, according to Morgan, an immediate rise of $2 billion in their 1973 bills.

There is no defined regulatory role for the U.S. Government, save during such periods as World War II when grain functioned somewhat as a public utility. Instead, the merchants of grain are relied upon to provide information on world crops and serve as agents of the presumed public interest. Pushing grain sales is seen as critical for reducing surpluses and price supports, financing overseas military bases, paying for OPEC oil, retaining a favorable balance of trade, propping up the dollar and feeding the hungry of politically favored countries. Meanwhile, the Government provides subsidies totaling billions to compensate the companies for exporting grain when world prices are lower than American domestic prices.

There is considerable diplomatic front-running to insure that lucrative markets such as Japan belong to American rather than Canadian wheat. Under Public Law 480, assistance is provided to farmers and the grain trade through authorization for foreign countries to buy grain with U.S. loans. As Morgan tells it, the official explanation of "making American agricultural products more competitive abroad" is a euphemism for cramming them down their throats.

There are gaps in the study, especially in the political arena. For example, while Morgan repeatedly suggests the parallel with international oil, his documentation does not relate the entire spectrum of the political process to the grain trade, perhaps because such permeation is not essential for the maintenance of the private power of the grain trade. He might have pursued in greater detail the connections between the politics of such commodities as wheat and corn at home and his international focus. He is more successful with rice. There are sketches of individuals such as Representative Otto Passman of Louisiana servicing rice interests from his vantage point as chairman of the Foreign Operations (foreign aid) Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee and of Representative Richard Hanna of California who has paid to help broker Park Tong Sun push California's rice for South Korean markets. There is fleeting reference to a Cargill vice president for public affairs who headed an industry group promoting grain exports, sat on the Council on Foreign Relations to encourage this view, became a friend of Minnesota Senator Walter Mondale, and helped raise campaign funds for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, an early supporter of P.L. 480.

The involvement of farm organizations and their political spokesmen with the merchants of grain seems to be worth exploring. More on farm co-ops such as the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, which occupies a pivotal position between the farmers and the grain trade, would be welcome. While Morgan sees his merchant protagonists acting out an "American dream" of unlimited possibilities for those with the drive, he does not place the farmer in this context. One does not have to accept fully Veblen's portrait of the American farmer as "trading in futures" to appreciate the extent to which, with the ready help of the farm lobby, land has been converted into private property, resources into commodities and government into a welfare apparatus.

As an example of the power of the merchants, Morgan describes an apparently aborted Senate investigation of the international grain trade in the mid-1970s. Chairman Frank Church (Idaho) is quoted as saying that "No one knows how they operate, what their profits are, what they pay in taxes and what effect they have on our foreign policy—or much of anything else about them." According to Morgan, the hearings that were conducted did expand public knowledge, but they also clearly demonstrated the hazards of probing deeply.

> For the questioning of grain-company officials was called off after only one bruising day. Cargill simply blitzed the subcommittee. Rows of experts from the Minneapolis headquarters showed up, ready to refute every hostile reference to the firm. . . . Further scheduled hearings were postponed—indefinitely—and there never was any questioning of Continental, Bunge and the other big companies.

One wonders why the Senate didn't press the investigation. What remains to be tapped in the files of the subcommittee? The author repeatedly laments his inability to gain interviews from the elusive merchants. But what about the staff or members of the Senate subcommittee on multinational corporations who have pursued important studies of other multinationals with considerable results? It is not clear if they are among the officials who are thanked in the acknowledgments and whose request for anonymity is respected. It would be helpful to know the constraints under which they saw themselves functioning in this arena.

Morgan concedes that the present corporate network is efficient in distributing grain and that its privileged information is "indispensable" to almost

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every government. But he is troubled by the insensitivity to local needs for stabilized access to food and by the traders' ability to be a step ahead of nation-states.

Too sophisticated to believe that the more desperate problems of hunger and malnutrition are caused by the grain trade, he concludes with a discussion of the poverty of much of mankind who are excluded from the benefits of modern agriculture and, more tragically, from the potential of their own productive efforts. While he indicts the merchants who thrive on the present economic order, he has difficulty suggesting new directions.

As confidence in the technology of a "green revolution" diminishes, one wonders what kind of public planning might help meet global food needs. At what levels and under whose auspices? How much does the Government need to know about international prices and sales? Whether private dealers should be allowed to negotiate with other nations and grain continue to be sold through private hands is a question raised at the outset of the book but never returned to conclusively. Would a national grain board be any improvement over present arrangements? There is a valuable discussion of Canada's powerful wheat board, a quasi-governmental body which markets on behalf of farmers. But Morgan notes that this outgrowth of prairie socialism has a secrecy pattern not unlike that of its private counterparts.

To what extent can grain be an instrument of foreign policy without hurting the poor, the developing, and the consumer at home? There are now calls for us to act as the OPEC of wheat and corn, perhaps joined by Canada and Australia, bargaining bushels for barrels and cutting off those who do not sell us oil at attractive prices. The proposal may be more rhetorical than practical: OPEC countries have other options for their food purchases, which are only a small percentage of America's grain exports.

While difficult to disentangle in one study, related policy dilemmas require examination. What is the desirable balance between American farm exports and a developing world's long-run self-sufficiency? U.S. farmers increasingly look to the now erratic overseas grain sales; they also need stabilized production, storage and selling levels; perhaps approaching the once discredited idea of an ever-normal granary. Without the security of fair prices and reasonably predictable access to overseas markets, they bear the brunt of a world market which excludes them whenever there are bumper crops elsewhere. While critics denounce price supports as a violation of the free market, some farm spokesmen argue that the present support loan prices (the floor price under which they can store grain instead of marketing it) are not reflective of true production costs and yet set the world trade price. As an added indignity, when their grain is bought, often by the government of a developed nation, the latter may then make considerable profit by reselling in its own market at a much higher price.

The grain merchants, like other multinationals, view themselves as politically neutral, working on the frontiers of technology to manage the global food economy in the service of mankind. Yet their first loyalty is to profits and they support political climates that respect this priority. While the culture of agribusiness, processed foods and supermarkets penetrates more regions of the world, small farmers everywhere find it increasingly difficult to survive and many countries are less able to feed themselves. When hundreds of millions go hungry, one is left with grave doubts as to the wisdom and morality of such developments and of the mythology that cloaks the greed of the affluent with explanations of global overpopulation and scarcity.

Dan Morgan doesn't attempt to resolve all these interwoven elements of food policy. But his well-written book is to be welcomed for furthering our understanding, for inviting other studies and for spurring our political consciences. □

FILMS

NORA SAYRE

If self-destruction was the favorite romance of the 1970s, we should recall that some who lacerated their lives netted far more public sympathy than others—witness the disparate responses to the departures of Richard Nixon and Sylvia Plath, or Wilbur Mills and Janis Joplin. Death didn't reap the accolades; suicide wasn't applauded; art itself was not the issue. But in some cases, trashing the self was seen as an act of heroism, almost as a symptom of superiority. And, on a lesser and popular level, what was at stake was style: the dramatic exit, the gesture of defiance, the exalted leap that carries a figure into the wings. I intend no disrespect to the dead—and only some to the living—but I wonder whether the famously self-destructive make us feel better about ourselves, or if they generate an enthusiasm for the daring finale.

Bob Fosse's *All That Jazz* activates both sensations: the spectators emerge as survivors who have been splendidly entertained. As most earthlings know by now, *Jazz* is Fosse's autobiography—filtered through his reverence for Fellini's *8½*. Fosse's movie centers on a director-choreographer who's rehearsing a stage musical featuring his former wife (Gwen Verdon, Fosse's ex-wife, starred in his production of *Broadway*), while he's editing a film about an acrid comedian (Fosse directed *Lenny*), when he has a severe heart attack—as Fosse did. Throughout, *Jazz* radiates an exuberant death wish; as the film celebrates self-inflicted wounds, it distills some of the sensibilities of the 1970s.

The hiss of Alka-Seltzer, drops for a reddened eyeball, Dexedrine, wake-up music on tape, and the wet cigarette inhaled in the morning's hangover shower, introduce the frenzied choreographer (Roy Scheider) who works and drinks and smokes so compulsively that his heart rebels; in the meantime, overcopulation prompts his women to rebel. While the pace and the music and the pills convey the character almost as much as the actor does, Scheider skillfully embodies a person who can't tolerate silence or inactivity, can't be stationary, can't digest the conflicts in his life. Moreover, Scheider is good at looking rueful—and guilt (or sham-guilt) is crucial to this film. The man perpetually berates himself, and yet the movie asserts that he's lovable, the movie forgives him. Thus, Fosse's doppelgänger is presented as a beguiling turd, and I've rarely seen a film that so cleverly absolved a character who claims to be culpable.

Between binges of remorse, the anti-hero and the whole movie leap to life in the dance scenes, many of them rehearsals. The floor seems to throb, and one longs to trade feet with the performers. Even the dancers' work ethic is infectious: this is a world of digital clocks where seconds count, where manic concentration and passionate precision are essential. As usual, Fosse's

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own choreography is raunchy and febrile; he's generous with bumps and grinds, while the camera admires the flexibility of crotches and buttocks. The result is sensual yet impersonal: you enjoy the bodies while feeling remote from them; bare breasts imply no intimacy—instead, the excitement springs from the ensemble. No one will scold Fosse for subtlety, but I relished the movie's blatancy, its gleeful exorbitance. And Fosse's casting is impressive: Leland Palmer as the gracefully ironic ex-wife, Ann Reinking as the principal girlfriend, Cliff Gorman miming Lenny Bruce, and a galaxy of talents infuse the film with the astuteness and vigor and exasperation of expert professionals who sometimes founder on the personal.

However, Fosse should have been shielded from Fellini's *8½*, just as Francis Coppola ought to have been protected from Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. While influences in film are unavoidable and often salutary, models are perilous—because they can inspire pretension. Most of Fosse's surrealist scenes are labored and weak; paradoxically, it's very difficult to make fantasy succeed on the screen—it takes a genius like Fellini's to render it magical. The most embarrassing intrusion in *Jazz* is a woman in gauzy white, who, I'm sorry to say, is the angel of death. She chats weightily with the choreographer about love and pain and truth until you yearn to scissor all of her lines. Jessica Lange plays the regrettable angel; remembering how amusing she was in *King Kong*, I wished that some gifted ape might liberate her from this role. Meanwhile, one doubts that the choreographer is utterly irresistible to infinite women, or that his ex-wife and girlfriend would remain so loyal to him, but maybe that's part of the fantasy. Fosse also borrowed some significant breathing for the soundtrack from Fellini, and a ticking watch from Ingmar Bergman—he should restore them to their owners.

Despite a graphic sequence of open-heart surgery, courtesy of St. Luke's Hospital, the movie doesn't transmit any reality about death—which is probably just as well. Still, I wouldn't urge the coronaries I esteem to see *Jazz*, since the close-ups of palpitating innards did wring loud grunts of protest from the audience. Perhaps Fosse mistook incisions for incisiveness—even though he did undergo that operation himself.

At its best, *Jazz* is a sumptuous diversion; at its weakest, the movie exudes a hip futility, which is lubricated by spurts of sentimentality in the script. It's an error to keep harping on *8½* because *Jazz* has almost no emotional depth; it can't be compared to art—and shouldn't be. Still, the concluding hallucinatory scenes are far more inventive than the earlier fantasies; after the choreographer's heart is stricken, he envisions a dazzling series of numbers from an imaginary film, and soon a glorious fan dance sends white feathers weaving in a circle around his hospital bed. Giuseppe Rotunno, Fellini's favorite cinematographer, endows the movie with a richness that should enthrall even the most jaded optical nerves. The finale—a luxuriant, teasing farewell to life—is surely the most stunning musical funeral that any film maker ever dreamed of giving himself: a spectacular that all the shades of Hollywood might envy.

Sidney Pollack's *Electric Horseman* should have been an entrancing film. Robert Redford, a former world-champion cowboy, is disgusted to find himself hyping cereal; when he learns that the legendary retired racehorse which is also exploited in the ad campaign has been mistreated, he steals it and plans to restore it to the wilderness, while a posse of policemen pursues him in hopes of recapturing the valuable property. Jane Fonda is the television reporter who hounds and then abets him, and the film revives the honored device of antagonists who bicker until they tingle. *Horseman* takes the correct stance on ecology, and it trounces the villainies of corporations, the fabrications of the media, advertising and the invasion of privacy. Still, turning a thoroughbred racer loose in a Utah canyon seems rather like abandoning a domestic Angora cat in the tundra—but the script doesn't grapple with that problem.

The movie aspires to update the traditions of romantic comedy—by depicting friendship between lovers who are equals, who sustain a mutual respect. However, the lavish talents of Fonda and Redford are underemployed; even their collaborative charms can't enliven the tepidity of Robert Garland's dialogue. Cuteness is the substitute for wit, and when Fonda had to kiss the horse goodbye, I realized that no actress has been able to bring that off since Elizabeth Taylor nuzzled her mount in *National Velvet*. All in all, *Horseman* is a gentle ballad of good values, but I wish that the humor and the gumption implicit in the material hadn't been muffled. Like wheat germ, the film is blandly beneficial—and just about as compelling. □

THEATER

HAROLD CLURMAN

Friedrich von Schiller's *Mary Stuart* is a political play with a human face. Written in 1800 about events that took place in 1587, its universality makes it entirely relevant today. It is a masterpiece.

I am impelled, first of all, to set down certain thoughts in regard to its modest production by the Circle Repertory Theatre under Marshall Mason's direction. I speak of the production as modest though in a sense it is extremely ambitious, as is the Circle production of *Hamlet* with which it alternates. The company is hardly equipped with its limited means and insufficient training to produce the great classics in a manner which befits them. There is a paradox in this, for we are seldom given the opportunity to see them done much better anywhere else; in general they are only produced under the auspices of nonprofit organizations—in this instance on a tiny stage in a small house.

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see such plays—witness the free (or nearly free) performances in Central Park that usually draw huge crowds. So despite the fact that on a sheer theatrical-esthetic level I should be severe with the Circle's revivals, I found myself pleased—especially in the case of *Mary Stuart*—to observe that the audiences follow the plays with genuine interest, and pleased to learn that most of the *Hamlet* performances are sold out.

What is wrong with our theater is not the lack of an audience but the absence of proper auspices to establish and maintain permanent companies of high professional and artistic standards. What we have in the way of such institutions (and it is not the fault of any individual) are in nearly all cases honorable but makeshift enterprises.

The Circle Repertory has done very well with a number of contemporary plays, especially those of Lanford Wilson (*Talley's Folly* and others), and it is a brave thing for them to undertake Shakespeare and Schiller. (I must confess, however, that I have rarely admired any American production of *Hamlet* or of Shakespeare's other tragedies, and very few of the English.) Grandeur in acting has all but disappeared in the last fifty years, as that quality has from the rest of our society.

There is no such thing, Tyrone Guthrie once remarked, as a "Shakespeare tradition"; what is alarming is that almost *all* sense of tradition today has become anomalous. The British citizen who is unaffected by the majesty of Buckingham Palace is still somehow related to the idea and panoply of royalty if for no other cause than that he witnesses ceremonies such as coronations, which have remained largely unchanged for centuries. The anticlerical Italian is still so steeped in the environment of Catholicism that he retains a sense of awe at its rituals. But our actors today are strangers to such influences and can only ape the gestures of traditional faiths and past modes of behavior. They have little historical memory or imagination: it is not in our bones.

Our productions of classic plays (and even foreign plays of more recent date) nearly always have a museum stamp about them, an atmosphere of inauthenticity. They do not stir us as living drama, they are for the most part only exercises in style. We are often unable to understand how people of the past could have behaved and conducted themselves as they did. We diminish them when we conceive of them as just like ourselves.

The Circle's *Mary Stuart* is much more telling than its *Hamlet*. It is not that the acting or direction of the first is superior but that Schiller's language (in translation at any rate) is easier to speak and to act. Also, it is less familiar than Shakespeare's, whose significance has become dimmed by routine repetition and banal explication.

Mary Stuart is not like most of our so-called political plays—an exposé or propaganda for a cause. In it Schiller dramatizes both the workings of statecraft—the pressures, machinations, subterfuges and ruses of statesmen in all their complexity—and also their human motivations and effects. Queen Elizabeth and Mary Stuart are depicted with incisive psychological understanding. Both were complex people; neither their virtues nor villainies were trivial. As we follow the conflicts, the dirty tricks, the rationalizations of Schiller's personages, we willy-nilly think of parallels with the politics and politicians of our own day. But the difference is immense, because those old rulers and their ministers were great individuals—or so at least they

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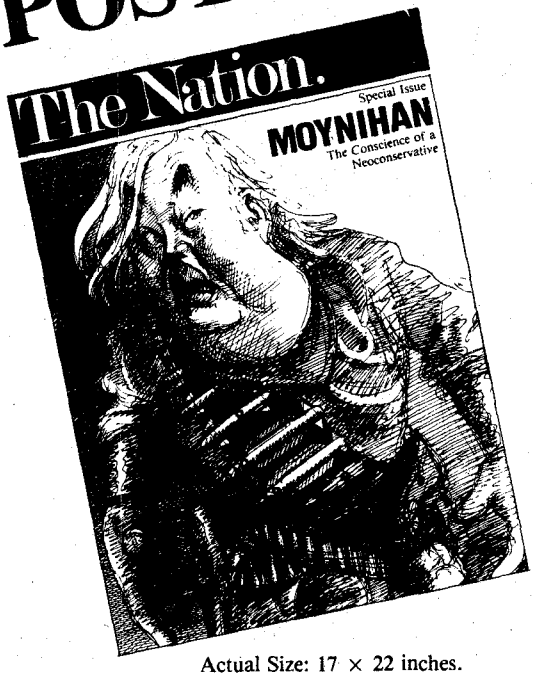

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seem as the master poet-dramatists portray them. They are lofty in thought, big in passion, in daring, in appetite and in eloquence—in that *grandeur* which is so difficult for artists of our epoch, particularly in the theater—to recapture and make convincing.

The political insights in *Mary Stuart* are traced on the largest scale, and made vital and real. The fiber and pulse of political issues are rendered more illuminatingly and cogently in Schiller's play than they are in all of the news reporting on events that have made headlines and weighted the air and wires for the past twenty-five years.

David Jenkins has constructed a unit setting which, in view of the constricted space and low budget, works well for both *Mary Stuart* and *Hamlet*. Laura Crow has designed some eye-catching costumes, especially those worn by the two central figures of the Schiller play. It is probably unfair in the circumstances to single out individual performances, but the company as a whole shows to greater advantage in the nineteenth-century work. A special note of praise is nevertheless due for Tanya Berezin as Queen Elizabeth, particularly in the moments of her steely calculations, dark resentments and self-determined and regal loneliness. □

INDIGENOUS MUSIC

NAT HENTOFF

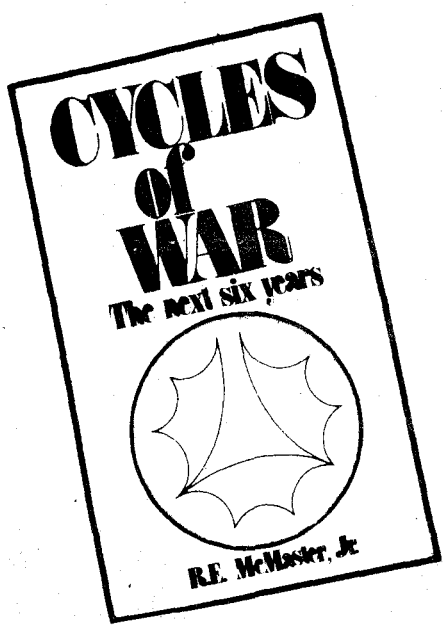
A whip-snapping tempo or a deeply mellow groove in medium time can occasionally mask a paucity of improvisational ideas. The sheer excitement of the former and the steady "cooking" of the latter are so viscerally satisfying that the pleasure goes unexamined. On ballads, however, the improviser is naked. He may succeed in setting a mood, but since the listener is apt to know the song and since the pulse is slow enough to hear every idea take shape, clichés and careless fill-ins that have nothing to do with the spirit of the tune can easily break the mood.

So, a key test for some leaders (Mingus, for instance) has been whether a prospective sideman can speak freshly in a ballad. There is, of course, a richly diversified tradition of jazz balladry, from the soaring simplicity (difficult to emulate) of Louis Armstrong to the often mysterious lyricism of Miles Davis. ("He sounds," a French musician once said, "like somebody calling you from the other shore.")

And for sheer floating sensuousness, Johnny Hodges was, as his leader said, beyond category. Lester Young also had no serious rivals in his ability to fuse knowing wit and poignancy while bending and stretching melodic lines so subtly that he seemed to extract the essence of a ballad without at all bruising the form in which it originally came. His "secret," Lester once told me, was that he never played a ballad until he knew the lyrics and then, by keeping them in mind, he could go for himself, but not so far that he lost the meaning of the song.

Another jazz ballad lineage is that of the huge-toned, powerfully pulsating, room-filling romanticism exemplified by Coleman Hawkins and even more compellingly by Ben Webster. Less grandly rhapsodic and chordally involved than Hawkins, Webster concentrated on melody and desire, and there has been no more fulfilling romantic voice in all of jazz than Webster's on a night when *his* mood was right. A big man, given to fury when he was drunk, Ben had the tenderest of souls, and he could make even a club owner misty-eyed when he played "All Too Soon."

Of the relatively few tenor saxophonists still nurturing the Hawkins-Webster respect for robust romanticism, Eddie



About the Author . . .
R.E. McMaster was a former flight instructor at the U.S. Air Force Academy and V.I.P. pilot at the North American Aerospace Defense Command Headquarters in Colorado Springs. Today, he is one of the most highly-respected economic and financial writers in the world.

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"Lockjaw" Davis is the most consistent. On *The Heavy Hitter* (Muse), there are both ballads and explosive swingers, and while Davis is not as intimate as Webster, the ballad medley ("Old Folks" and "Out of Nowhere") is a classic distillation of jazz eros. And the rest of the set is the very definition of exultantly authoritative "hot" swinging.

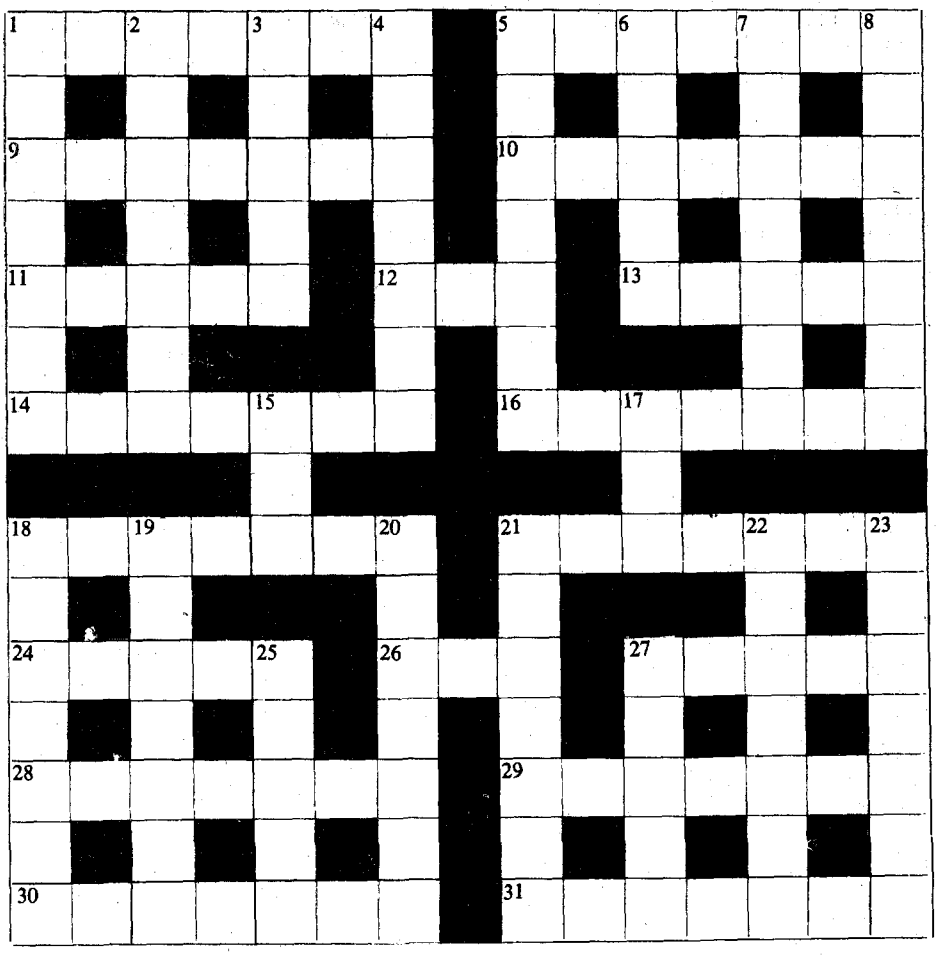
Chico Freeman's *Spirit Sensitive* (India Navigation) consists entirely of ballads and is further revelation of this young tenor saxophonist's roots in the whole continuum of the jazz experience. Although best known as a vital and vivid figures in the post-Coltrane cadre (who can no longer be called avant-garde because they are shaping the jazz of the 1980s), Freeman has much knowledgeable affection for his predecessors. In a way, this set is a tribute to the elders of jazz lyricism for, while Freeman's improvising is clearly in his own voice, he avoids going "outside" the ballad tradition, focusing instead on doing, in his way, what Lester Young and Ben Webster accomplished in their disparate ways. That is, he gently but penetratingly expands and deepens such songs as "Autumn in New York" and "It Never Entered My Mind" with the colors, rhythms and surprises of jazz, while not distorting the essence of each ballad. The result, as with all the best jazz, is to give these works depth and dimensions they never had when first created.

Of all recent jazz ballad performances, the most unexpected and the most hauntingly reverberating is Ornette Coleman's "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman" in his new Artists House set, *Soap Suds*. Working only with bassist Charlie Haden (which is like working with a choir of bassists), Coleman spins continually intriguing emotive variations on the theme of that baroque soap opera. And his tone is, if possible, even more "human" than before, it having long been his intent to explore intervals that "carry the *human* quality if you play them in the right pitch. You can reach into the sound of a human voice on your horn if you're actually hearing and trying to express the warmth of a human voice."

But that's not new, as Louis Armstrong could have told Ornette. However, it does become new with each player who tries to hear that way. And so there is no likelihood of jazz balladry becoming a lost art. □

Crossword Puzzle No. 1804

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 17 down
5 Something made of cord put this way. (7)
9 One's 5 across is no longer crude. (7)
10 A well-known piece of music associated with the pen of Saint-Saëns? (3,4)
11 One might, if not suited to lead. (5)
12, 15 and 21 across Those referred to were woman-chasers, evidently, but one might go to the track to do so. (3,3,4,3)
13 Row that is only in your head, by the sound of it. (5)
14 Scores, but not with most of the board game. (7)
16 Happens to be what one might lay on a fateful day. (7)
18 One's cast might be in the stadium, or the theater of war with the last of 18 down. (7)
21 See 12 across
24 Musical flight. (5)
26 See 17 down
27 Stick with encouragement for one who is trying to improve his 28? (5)
28 What some players try to raise is mean. (7)
29 A big dumb one I go out with. (Rusty, that's what you get if you do!) (7)
30 Festival days, with different trees as a by-product. (7)
31 Hide here? (It takes some effort to get around the queen.) (7)

DOWN

1 and 18 down Break in suddenly on your old love—a good match might make things! (5,4,5)
2 Sort of deaf last month, but it's not to your credit to do so. (7)
3 7 has it from 2 to 4, as you must admit. (3,2)
4 Cool great places of upspringing quiet periods. (7)
5 Spinach, for example, or thyme—in the soup other books show. (7)
6 Portends, so it's wrong about people. (5)
7 Busy people might like to get it when they get home. (4)
8 What one does in 31 about a broken leg. (They might get in your hair.) (7)
15 See 12 across
17, 26 and 1 across No fear! You'll find that's what the singer had of him! (3,3,3,4)
18 See 1 down
19 Sent in lieu of what sounds like presents. (7)
20 Some barons, reputedly. (7)
21 Go, but at some trouble, to find the old girl of 31 so affectionately described in film. (7)
22 Stock of the family *Muridae*? Some are loath to join it nowadays. (3,4)
23 Ophelia never did get to it. (7)
25 What the Artful Dodger did with a little literary character of French derivation. (5)
27 This man has slight brain damage. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1803

ACROSS: 1 Call the shots; 9 Striplings; 10 Pier; 11 Untoward; 12 Roasts; 15 Leeboard; 16 Advisors; 19 Slight; 21 Gaffed; 22 Residing; 24 Stun; 25 Invitation; 26 Achilles heel. DOWN: 2 Act in good faith; 3 Laid off; 4, 13 and 8 Half a loaf is better than none; 5 Synodal; 6 Observers; 7 Soprano; 14 Swordfish; 17 Infanta; 18 Shrivel; 20 In Dutch; 23 Satie.

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